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VOL. 1

Rock Inscriptions in the Indus Valley

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edited by Karl Jettmar
in collaboration with
Ditte König and Volker Thewalt

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INTRODUCTION

Since 1979 over ten thousand petroglyphs and thousands of inscriptions were systematically explored in the Northern Areas of Pakistan (consisting of the districts Gilgit, Baltistan and Diamir) and at the northern fringe of Indus-Kohistan. In this area, rock-carvings have been known for at least eighty years, of which Aurel STEIN (1944: 16–24) had studied a small but important sample.

So I was certainly not the "discoverer" of this complex, but I instigated for the first time a systematic and extensive investigation of such monuments, as first presented during the Fourth International Conference of South Asian Archaeologists, held at Naples in 1977 (JETTMAR 1979: 917–925). My first success in this venture was to convince Prof. Gérard FUSSMAN then of the University of Strassbourg that a personal examination of the inscriptions near Alam Bridge would be rewarding. That led to his successful visit in 1976, and the results were published in 1978.

In 1979 I "persuaded" Prof. Dr A.H. DANI "to have a field trip along the Karakorum Highway (opened to tourists about a year ago)" together with me (DANI 1985: 5). In an earlier report he said even more graphically that I had "literally dragged" him "into this field" (DANI 1983: III). It was so fruitful that we included the investigation of petroglyphs into the tasks of a joint Pakistani-German project for anthropological research in the Northern Areas which had formal approval by the Government of Pakistan in 1980. Prof. DANI became the coordinator of our counterparts, participating personally during the earlier campaigns, before his commitment to more general programmes of

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the UNESCO became too demanding. As a distinguished archaeologist and a palaeographer, trained in Sanskrit, he worked independently in interpretation and publication, with a characteristically imaginative approach.

Since 1980, the Pak-German team has had regular expeditions every year, at first sponsored by the German Research Council (with a substantial contribution from the Volkswagen Foundation). Later on, financial and administrative responsibility was taken over by the Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences, which in 1984 inaugurated a special committee for the implementation of our programme.

Until 1985 I joined the team with the intention to devote most of my time to further exploration in places not previously visited. But negotiations with sponsors and the involved governments and, of course, public relations, became my permanent burden. I had seen important clusters of carvings beforehand during travels in 1955, 1958, 1964, 1971, 1973 and 1975. The earlier journeys were still done on foot and on horseback, which gave a general idea of the environment, its possibilities, difficulties and even dangers. By writing a book on the pre-Islamic Religions of the Hindukush (JETTMAR 1975) I had the chance to become thoroughly familiar with the cultural heritage and the linguistic situation, thanks to information provided by my friend Prof. BUDDRUSS. And I had the invaluable advantage to be aware of the nearby excavations made in Soviet Central Asia and their interpretation.

Dr. V. THEWALT had joined our team already in 1980. Then he held a scholarship provided by the German Archaeological Institute, and was immediately confronted with responsibility for the documentation of the very large site of Hunza Haldeikish. The involvement of the great institution just mentioned turned out to be ephemeral. So our next expeditions – when we both had to fend for ourselves – with changing, not always trained collaborators, became especially exacting. So in his proper field of Buddhist iconography, many results are not yet included in his preliminary reports (1983, 1984, 1985).

The assignment to our team of Director M.S. QAMAR, as representative of the Department of Archaeology and Museums was maintained through several campaigns. We found him most

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cooperative, and the investigation of yet unknown areas became his special interest. He made many excellent photographs for his department.

All other participants were specialists, necessarily confined to their "own" discipline, and often interested in a particular period.

Prof. FUSSMAN had made valuable contributions to the political and cultural history of the states and statelets in the North-West during the Early Buddhist period; so his focus was on Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. Prof. O. v. HINÜBER had splendidly dealt with the problems raised by the Gilgit Manuscripts, so he deciphered and interpreted the Brāhmī-inscriptions, well aware of their importance for Buddhist studies. His published results are intended for experts in this field. Coordination, with the sometimes diverging views of art-historians (e.g. Prof. HÄRTEL), is still a task for the future.

Relevant work was done by a specialist for Indian palaeography, Dr L. SANDER, and by scholars in the field of Iranian studies: especially in respect of more than 500 Sogdian inscriptions, by Dr LIVŠIC, Prof. Dr H. HUMBACH and Dr N. SIMS-WILLIAMS. The results are available to collaborators of the project, but only a part are published so far. In respect of the restricted number of Chinese and Tibetan inscriptions we are in the same situation. Translations were proposed by qualified and interested colleagues either by a short article – by the late MA YONG – or by personal letters (from Prof. D. SECKEL, Prof. H. FRANKE, Prof. L. LEDDEROSE, Prof. K. SAGASTER and others); but they have not been properly discussed in print so far.

I was involved in this work since its modest beginnings, later on entrusted with the commitment to write the regular report on the last campaign, and the application for the following one. So I could hardly avoid trying to sketch a broad overview on the basis of the complementary or conflicting views of these specialists, correlating them with my own observations. An initial problem was to bring the material into a chronological sequence, and to discern the presence of ethnic and social groups expressing their sentiments and intentions by signs, images and written texts. Petroglyphs and nothing else form the "archaeological record" here. Excavations were beyond the frame of the licence granted

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to us by the authorities of Pakistan. And even without this restraint, much of the remains elsewhere preserved in the soil were here destroyed by terrible floods sweeping again and again the base of the Indus valley. In 1841, when a natural barrage, formed by a huge landslide in the gorges north of the Nanga Parbat finally broke, hundreds of Sikh soldiers, camping on the banks of the Indus near Attock were drowned; and a similar inundation in 1859 let the Indus rise for ninety feet during one day – at the same place (DREW 1875: 414–421).

However, for a part of my interpretations I could refer to texts written in China (dynastic histories, reports of Buddhist pilgrims), in Eastern Iran, in the Tarim Basin, or Kashmir. As almost no ancient coins were found in these distant mountains, the typical "index artefact" of the Indo-Iranian borderland is lacking.

Since 1984 we have tried to gain the interest of a broader public for this province of rock-art by arranging exhibitions of large-size photographs in several European museums. That proved to be a great help for obtaining the financial support which we badly needed for our programme. In order to write the text of a pertinent catalogue (JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985) in a comprehensible way – explaining the sequence of the photos – I had to transform my reflections into a coherent "story" of what had happened during the Prehistoric and Early Historic periods in the valleys which we will call the Karakorum Region – strictly speaking, the area between the Hindukush-Karakorum ranges and the westernmost Himalaya.

This is not the place for a synopsis of this kind; but a few statements must be made in advance of the publication of the linguistic articles which form the body of this volume:

The inscriptions which have been properly studied in respect of content and palaeography offer valuable although not unshakeable points of reference for the classification of most of the associated "figural" petroglyphs. They tell about their date and meaning, forming a rough guide-line during the first millennium A.D.

From the second century B.C. onwards – when ZHANG QIAN collected concrete information – we have an almost continuous

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sequence of relevant written sources in many languages: Chinese and Sanskrit, later on Persian, Arabic, Tibetan, and the Saka language of Khotan. Neither Aurel STEIN nor TUCCI (1977) exhausted these sources, which at least limit our speculative freedom (see JETTMAR 1977).

For the same period, observations and classifications proposed by art historians, in most cases specialists for Buddhist iconography, should not be neglected.

However, in the field dominated by classical disciplines, the archaeologist is not deprived of an independent approach by comparing techniques of production (by stone or metal implements), motifs, style, and degrees of repatination. A few words should be said about the problems involved. When we compare attempts to bring the rock art observed in other parts of the world into a meaningful chronological order, we are forced to realize that there is no generally accepted dominant methodology at the exclusion of others. Apparently the natural environment and the cultural context open highly individual strategic chances for the explorers. Data acquired by elaborate systems of recording (ANATI 1977) are scarcely available when a small team has to work in a large territory without suitable living conditions – among a not always compliant population.

So it is necessary that I explain the criteria I used for dating petroglyphs which could not be classified with the help of pertinent inscriptions, or by comparing them with well-known works of Buddhist art. (It turned out that my approach has much in common with that of RANOV when working in the Pamirs (1982)).

In this "problematic" material I mainly differentiated according to degrees of repatination. I discerned:

1. Completely repatinated petroglyphs

It should be said at the outset that this approach can only be used in areas where the bare rocks are found under special conditions: rainfall must be minimal and the temperature very high, at least in summer. In such places, the rocks are covered by a sort of patina well-known from other arid and hot areas, and therefore called desert varnish ("Wüstenlack"). It was intensely investigated in many continents, but the most promising article

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on possible dating of desert varnish is, I suggest, based on fieldwork in the Indus valley during the Karakorum Project of the Royal Geographical Society (WHALLEY 1983). So I may refer to this publication and start with the statement that "bruising" is the chosen technique under such conditions for carvings and writings, durable and visible from a great distance.

The result of bruising was called "sgraffiti" by STEIN (1944: 17), and basically the same term (graffiti) may be used further on – in spite of the evident difference to what we mean when speaking of monuments from Roman or Greek antiquity (for the terminology see B. ALLCHIN 1986: 152–155). The bruisings, however, are subject to repatination. Full repatination makes bruisings invisible to a person standing in front, but when the stone is reflecting sunshine, the figures will appear.

Bruising is often done with a pointed stone. But hammering with metal implements – chisels and pick-axes – was used very early, as observed by RANOV (1982: 86). Suitable copper and bronze tools from Middle Asia were published by KUZ´MINA (1966: pl. I/4,7; III/1,2,7,8; XII).

On the basis of the data presented by WHALLEY (1983: 22), but mainly relying on my own experience from several expeditions, I would say that in the Indus valley complete repatination needs a very long time: three or four millennia. That is a crude margin, since exposure to sunshine (hence orientation) and the quality of the stone are important as well and must be taken into consideration, but it is confirmed by the observation that none of the completely repatinated images are connected with inscriptions. They do not belong to iconographic groups strongly reminiscent of those attributed elsewhere to the first millennium B.C. – a time when we are already near the first written sources, e.g., Chinese annals mentioning Saka-migrations through the Karakorums. So we may call these fully repatinated carvings "prehistoric".

Before 1988, such "prehistoric" carvings were only observed in the Indus valley between Chilās and Shatial, where nature presents a multitude of barren and polished, heavily patinated rocks in bizarre formations – such as enclosures for meeting places, galleries, or "chapels" waiting for the decorating artist. Here, we have a series of enormous open-air galleries inviting gifted con-

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temporaries or men of later generations to a sort of contest. Maybe the tradition to produce petroglyphs started here and was then adopted by later immigrants. The technique and the artistic ambition were transferred to other areas with poorer conditions as well.

Artistically, the fully repatinated carvings do not belong to one and the same stylistic group. There are several clearly differentiated complexes, sometimes in the same cluster. The spectrum is even broader than that what would be expected on the basis of cultural diversity expressed by the inventories known by excavations in neighbouring Swat (STACUL 1987: 115–127).

2. Petroglyphs with incomplete repatination

Differing degrees of repatination are relevant for chronology in this group, but in order to obtain (relative) dates they can only be used when they occur on the same or perhaps on neighbouring rocks.

Certainly, recent engravings or bruisings, made by workmen during the construction of the Karakorum Highway, are easy to identify – they are not patinated at all. The contrast with all other petroglyphs is so sharp that I had to assume a hiatus of several centuries between the last traditional petroglyphs and modern "revivals". That is supported by the complete absence of Islamic inscriptions, so frequently occuring in the Pamirs and in the Wakhan corridor (cf. KASYMOV 1984). But already in the northern part of the former Gilgit Agency the situation is different, and P. SNOY indeed made a short film about the making of petroglyphs there.

The explanation is already offered in the first reasonable account of such engravings (GHULAM MUHAMMAD 1907: 110): "The tradition is that in ancient times the land was frequently visited by fairies, who used to make these inscriptions, as in the opinion of the Chilāsis it is beyond man's power to produce such inscriptions." We must only add that these fairies were considered as powerful, dangerous and incalculable like the forces of the surrounding nature. It is a great pity that our investigations are injurious to the former sentiments of awe and respect. Maybe for similar reasons, palimpsests, namely carvings overlaying and destroying those of an earlier period, are rare in most sites (ex-

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cept Shatial and Oshibat). Evidently, the native, pious artist of the Karakorum respected the work of his predecessors, maybe his ancestors. This fact is helpful for documentation but obviously not for the establishing of a relative chronology.
So we have to shift to an approach which was postponed for the first group – the fully repatinated carvings – namely systematic comparison of the "motifs".

2.1 There is a small group of semi-patinated carvings which can be identified by iconographic studies, but they are not connected with inscriptions. The explanation is that they were made or ordered to be made by foreigners from countries where literacy was virtually unknown or uncommon.
One such group arrived from western Iran (it was wrongly identified as Parthians), the other from the steppes. Nomads from the steppes, apparently arriving or passing in the last centuries of the first millennium B.C., are responsible for animal style carvings. That is in accordance with an information contained in the history of the Earlier Han Dynasty, mentioning Saka hordes, migrating to South Asia via the "Hanging Passages", correctly identified with the gorges of the Indus (JETTMAR 1984, 1987a).
Later waves of such Northerners can be identified by their "tamgas" or distinctive emblems, as will be mentioned when discussing the contribution of SIMS-WILLIAMS.

2.2 Many motifs of the local rock art are derived from the great civilizations of Asia. For over two centuries scholars have developed reasonable sequences for these, showing the artistic developments in iconography and style. As for the inscriptions, the specialists for palaeography have done similar work. The languages used in the inscriptions were studied following well established disciplines.
In many cases, pictorial carvings and inscriptions are situated on the same rock, and they are often interrelated. Thus we can try a sort of crossdating – if not always with absolute certainty. We may learn about the meaning of the image, and the name of the artist may be mentioned as well, or the name and title of the

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patron. But even inscriptions in different languages may be interrelated. In this context, the external written sources, speaking about major powers and world-religions, must also be used as a contextual framework.

That so far published as the historical interpretation of our expeditions is mainly based on sites with such optimal conditions; which may be recapitulated here as briefly as possible. Already since the 1st century A.D., a route, used by merchants, Buddhist missionaries and pilgrims, artists and political envoys of the Kuṣāns, existed between Kashmir and the Tarim Basin. Using another access, traders from the lowlands reached Chilās and founded a Buddhist sanctuary there. Not much later, an emporium and a sanctuary were established near Shatial, 70 km farther west, just above the entrance of the Indus into the last gorges.

Between the 5th and the 8th century A.D. was a period of Buddhist dominance. The main sanctuary was opposite Chilās. Many members of the ruling elite are known by name, Buddhist Sanskrit being used as an actual language, but many of the local lords had Iranian or still enigmatic names. The Indus valley was not then a part of Palūr, the Buddhist kingdom which had its centre in Baltistan, also including the Gilgit valley. The inscriptions published in this book indicate that Chilās was rather a frontier district of the Dārada-kingdom, which had its capital in the Nilum/Kishanganga valley. Apparently, the local chiefs remained more or less independent. Trade between Central Asia and North-West India brought them substantial gains, so they accepted refugees from formerly Buddhist countries, now haunted by nomadic inroads and internal unrests. Such foreigners were used as clerks, religious advisers and artists who had to adapt themselves to the local medium of rock art. So it is quite possible that late Gandhāra art "hibernated" in this area before expanding for a last time to the lowlands, as proposed by DANI.

The political events of the 8th century A.D. – namely the conquest of Palūr by Tibetan armies and the vain attempts of the Chinese to stop this expansion (well known from Tibetan and Chinese annals) are not directly documented. Seemingly there is a hiatus, and only thereafter we find a few late inscriptions (10th or 11th century A.D.) as well as pertinent carvings.

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The noble carvings of the main Buddhist period can be used in order to identify the origin of the travellers, and the provenance of the local lords. We might say that the attempt to discover the full meaning of this unique combination of inscriptions and carved images imposes tasks which are not too different from those typically encountered by students of classical archaeology. In many sites the natural rocks were decorated like the shelter walls, surrounding the sanctum of a religious building. Some inscriptions have an official character, others correspond to graffiti, expressing more private views and concerns, aspirations and animosities.

2.3 A special challenge for ethno-archaeologists in this "historical context" are figures which occur side by side with the carvings made by Buddhists – or adherents of other world religions. However, they are not easily included into classical iconographic schemes.

2.3.1 Depicted are animals, including birds, human figures and quasi-architectural structures, looking like framework buildings, or erected by using square stones, ending in a flat or pointed roof. Often a spire is indicated, topped by a three-pronged fork or equipped with lateral branches, maybe flags. In most cases the similarity with the stūpa is evident.
The statistical data available for this group are still incomplete; but I estimate that they are more frequent than regular stūpa-carving. This is somewhat obscure in our preliminary publications, since "classical" or "prehistoric" carvings are more recognizable and easier to explain. So in the catalogue of our exhibition only five plates clearly feature this group. They are often technically simple, and our local guides, influenced by our predilection called them "Pakistani work", i.e. made by locals. Very rarely are they connected with inscriptions.
It was observed by A. STEIN (1944: 22) and v. HINÜBER that such figures might not necessarily correspond to actual buildings, being rather "quasi-substitute donations". To make them or to have them made was apparently as meritorious as the erection of a stūpa. We could say that they had an ideal-typical function not so different from a maṇḍala, which is always a symbol of the

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cosmic order. But they do not render a ground-plan: they rather stress the vertical elevation. The anthropologist will recall that the structuring of the world into cumulative zones of ritual purity was predominant in the only slightly diverging philosophies of the Dardic mountain peoples – almost up to the present day (JETTMAR 1975). Plants, animals, and also humans are classified in the same way. Sanctity is always paramount, corresponding to vertical altitude in such schemes – and not unexpectedly, when the grandeur of the mountains, the wonderful smell of trees and flowers beyond the high meadows would be formative experiences to all immigrants into the Himalayas, independently of their origin.

That is perhaps the simplest explanation for the enormous popularity of such carvings. They were a sort of "vertically transposed maṇḍala".

The endowing of the figures with human attributes is also compatible with popular mythology, which contains the concept of a giant supporting (and representing) the habitable earth (JETTMAR 1975: 215). On the other hand, the transformation of the stūpa into a mountain model is no absolute break with the Buddhist tradition, which is known to have encompassed such ideas as well.

2.3.2 When I wrote my first report (JETTMAR 1980: 169–170), I could not clearly discern between this indigenous group and another one, which I now classify as chronologically different. It has a larger, but still restricted number of motifs: especially axes, decorated wheels or rosettes, a special kind of ibex-pictures, a human figure with moderately straddled legs, extended arms and large palms, and the same figure standing over a horse, together with composite fighting scenes.

In his book on "Chilas", DANI conflated what I now consider two groups – not too closely related – under the one term of "Battle-Axe Culture". According to him this culture was diffused by a "Battle-Axe-People" who introduced horses and a new system of horse riding and fighting together with the "popularization of a higher form of Hindu religion in symbolic way", yet also integrating local beliefs and practices. And what I have here called quasi-architectural structures he explained by the

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"development of a temple type" – under "Brahmanic influence" crowned by a śikhara – "on the basis of the older form of terraced stūpas".

The diffusion of the Shina language is connected by DANI with these events, but he is not entirely clear as to whether it was imported by a ruling elite – "the kings who used Sanskritic names" – or by a "new movement of people" superseding the sedentaries, but not the "earlier hunters who continued their primitive life and experienced themselves in the primitive style of art on the rocks" (DANI 1983: 230–231).

DANI was apparently unaware that the term "Battle-Axe Culture" had already a problematic history of use among European prehistorians attempting to connect the diffusion of archaeological cultures with the dispersion of Indo-European languages. Strangely enough, he is confronted with much the same problems as his (often German) ancestors in terminology.

My own moving away from such ideas, implying a chronological distinction between Buddhist and Non-Buddhist carvings, was due to my commitment to another approach – that now called "spatial archaeology" – so I was following a trend, earlier propagated by the New Archaeologists (as overview cf. EARLE and PREUCEL 1987: 503–506).

Spatial archaeology has to be applied to the petroglyphs on two levels: firstly a "macro-perspective", to explain why certain localities were used for compact clusters (I called them sites) or extended lines of carvings. Secondly, a "micro-perspective", where we have to take into consideration how the different kinds of carvings are arranged in one particular site. To briefly recapitulate my observations here:

Fully repatinated carvings are found at Thalpan Ziyārāt and Thor North on barren plateaus, especially on rocks near to open and sandy places. TUCCI mentioned "communal meeting places" for yearly festivals "in the borderlands of Tibet" (TUCCI 1973: 50) and FRANCKE has also described one (1914: 20). That seems to me the most plausible basis for an explanation.

The place where so many west-Asiatic and northern motifs were observed is an imposing rock bastion near Thalpan Ziyārāt – it looks like a scene or a natural altar – outside of the former holy precinct, but not far away.

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During this late pre-Buddhist period, the rocks bordering the clefts, where streams or streamlets flow out from a side valley and join the Indus, were almost as a rule decorated with impressive carvings. Apparently the sanctuaries were situated here. We may imagine that the population of each valley came down to the mouth of their river for festivals, especially in wintertime. Then the banks of the Indus, extremely hot in summer, are almost hospitable.

All humans and animals depicted in such places are explicitly males. That corresponds to the system of orientation still preserved in some remote valleys which I could visit thirty years ago: In the inner sphere (the inhabitated valley with the surrounding mountains) men are rated as pure and superior, their privileged space is with their goats on the highmeadows or roaming about on the slopes and tops of the mountains as hunters for the mayaro – the pure and noble game (markhor, ibex, snow-leopard). Females are considered as unclean and weak, to be confined to the lower part of the valley, working in the fields.

In the outer sphere, the other but never distant world, the highest mountains are considered as the abode of goddesses, most powerful and of extreme purity. Fairies are their retinue, sometimes descending to compliant humans.

The male principle, represented by chthonic deities and demons – is entering from below, lusting for sexuality and dominance. But without such dark forces there could be no fertility – so sanctuaries were necessary at the bottom of the valley. Such places are still considered as ambivalent or even dangerous, to be avoided by women. (I have seen one altar of the females high up in the Haramosh valley, facing the summit of this famous peak.)

But even if such interpretations remain but bold speculations, we must concede that the clusters of carvings spread over otherwise barren parts of the Indus valley must be connected with the settlers, living in the side valleys. Other carvings were added in later centuries: together they form a sort of spiritual biography of the related valley, the earlier carvings situated in the centre, the later ones forming the periphery.

Such valley-sanctuaries were still maintained after the establishment of "Main Sacred Precincts" during the predominantly

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Buddhist period, as represented by the eastern part of the site Shatial Bridge, by the central part of the site Thalpan and by the site Chilās I. Minor Buddhist sanctuaries were near to the places where the Indus had to be crossed, always a dangerous interlude of the journey.

Even the routes connecting the sacred precincts and the river-crossings were decorated. So we learn that they were almost unchanged during the last millennium up to the British conquest. A major resting place with hundreds of inscriptions was discovered at Oshibat, where water (of the Indus) became available after a long march through a desert with rocks, cracked by the glowing sun.

Most of the camp sites seem to have been near to the mouth of a side valley, and here the foreign visitors contributed to the pre-existing decoration. This is a great help for dating. In such places we see that typical Buddhist engravings and "vertical maṇḍalas" were approximately contemporary. In some cases, there are still regular Buddhist inscriptions connected with them, so we might identify them as primitive or "rustic" stūpas. Whether they are "temples", as assumed by DANI, is quite another question, for they have neither doors nor windows.

Hindu influence should not be flatly denied, but a "pagan" motif already present in the prehistoric period was now rendered with a superior technique, typical for the best works of the Buddhists, namely the giant with extended arms.

Spatial archaeology reveals that the axes, decorated wheels, highly stylized ibex-carvings, human figures (with a horse) mentioned above must belong to another context. They are restricted to the Indus valley near Chilās. Here they were sometimes observed together with Buddhist carvings – but they appear to be quite inconsiderate, almost intrusive. Mostly they are concentrated in certain areas. Near Chilās there is a site which I was tempted to explain as a clan sanctuary, the meeting place of a population which could afford to make their own spiritual and political decisions. And just here a rocky slope, scarcely engraved earlier, was almost exclusively decorated by the battle-axe worshippers.

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An even larger area west of the mouth of the Hodar stream certainly did belong to a local community, devoted to the same cult. Here we find a most expressive demonstration of the contemporary spiritual situation. It is a battle-scene, the warriors equipped with picks or swords. A strange anthropomorphic figure is leading one party – much larger than the warriors, the body and legs being simple strokes, and the face is replaced by a circle or wheel, with a dot in the centre. The other party is apparently defending a stūpa – but this building is situated in the left corner of the tray in the rock, brushed aside by the victorious giant.

There are more rocks, decorated with a full set of such symbols – and one of them shows a combat between the representative of the stūpa and the man of the wheel. I proposed here a connection with the solar cults, propagated by the Chionitic invaders in the lowlands.

Upwards curved battle-axes of the same type as those suddenly appearing in the Indus valley were also used in the valleys of the Central Hindukush by the so-called Kafirs of the nineteenth century, the last pagans of the region. Other symbols, e.g. solar rosettes, have the same extensive diffusion. So we are confronted with a powerful movement. No historical report tells about the exact circumstances, but a date before the end of the 8th century A.D. is improbable.

2.3.3 Only a small number of petroglyphs can be safely attributed to a horizon which is later than that of the axes and decorated wheels: There are carvings of stūpas enclosing the umbrellas of the spire into a sort of mandorla, like the paintings in the temples of Alchi. That points to a date later than most of the other petroglyphs – around the 11th century A.D. The Śāradā inscriptions observed on the same rock may also speak for such a date (cf. GOEPPER 1982, pl. 29).

This period is not well known from rock-carvings, but the historical background can be reconstructed by using the literary sources – if they are used more systematically than has been done so far. They indicate that Gilgit, Astor and Chilās were situated in one and the same state, which must have been identical with the Kingdom of the Dāradas. Buddhism was the official religion, but

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maybe there was an "anti-Buddhist" movement as well, proclaiming solidarity with similar tendencies in Tibet. During their repeated raids against Kashmir the kings of the Dāradas could rely on a lavishly equipped cavalry – we are told "with golden trappings" – and on foreign, mostly Muslim mercenaries. Since carvings which deploy the deeds of richly equipped mounted warriors in close combat and during hunts in an otherwise unknown style were found near Chilās, we could assume that a feudatory lord of the Dārada Ṣāhi had his residence nearby.

Finishing this exposition of my own interpretations, the reader should be warned of the very small size of the area where the concentration of petroglyphs and inscriptions allows such far-reaching conclusions. The monuments are situated in a narrow belt lining the banks of the Indus. Only here are ideal conditions for rock art. In the side-valleys there is more rainfall and vegetation, and the schistose stone is not so inviting for depiction. The same unfavourable conditions are to be found south of most westward extensions of the Great Himalayas. (There was alternatively an area for rock paintings, but they survived only in caves. One site near Barikot is known but not yet published.) So we are basing our conclusion on a narrow probe, like a test drill leading down into the past.

Certainly, the chances and dangers for travellers north of the Indus valley were different from those on the southern side. In the north the passes are high, especially those of the main ranges, but they are snow-bound only between December and March/April. Therefore, the best time for travellers was late autumn, as in this season the rivers can be crossed without major risk. In summer they are transformed into torrents by the melting glaciers. In former times most deadly accidents are known to have happened by untimely crossings.

In contrast to winter-travelling in the north, the passes in the south – due to heavy snowfall and many avalanches – are open only in summertime. When they are open – between June and August – they are without problems. The perennial southwards connection however – through the gorges of the Indus – is extremely dangerous. The path is not only steep and narrow, but muddy and slippery and could only be used by men on foot.

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Therefore, the valleys on both sides of the Indus must have been a series of seasonal "waiting rooms" for travellers. Southbound traffic started in June, northbound traffic in October. The "waiting rooms" were linked by paths which had to pass the Indus valley, and they were also needed for choosing the right exit.
So the Indus valley was in strategic position, situated at a place where the distance between the ranges in the north (Karakorum) and those in the south (Himalaya) was minimal. A shortcut between Central and South Asia was possible, partly compensating for the dangers and strains.

The data gained during the expeditions were stored in an archive, located at present at the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg. It contains notebooks, official reports, plaster casts, maps and drawings, and the main part comprises colour-slides (most of them 24 x 36 mm), supplemented by photographs in colour or/and black and white.
Sir Aurel STEIN (1944: 18) has already foreseen that colour-photographs might be the best documentation. He was perfectly right when he wrote about the basic necessities in the future "for any safe attempt at decipherment. Such is not likely to become possible until these inscriptions are studied on the spot by a fully qualified Indian epigraphist or else adequate reproductions are secured through an expert photographer provided with the requisite aids such as colour sensitive plates (or films) and special scaffolding where the position of the inscriptions makes its employment indispensible" (STEIN 1944: 17).
He also clearly recognized that the petroglyphs are "not properly speaking engraved, but like a sort of graffiti produced by 'bruising' on the smooth but exceedingly hard surface of the detached rocks and huge boulders." They are perfectly visible by their lighter colour, but "this method applied to the very dark patina like surface" of the rock "does not permit anywhere (of) useful estampages being taken."

In Baltistan the situation is different; rocks with important carvings and reliefs are covered with moss and lichens, so a careful cleaning and a tracing by more complicated techniques are

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necessary. Therefore the procedures described by ANATI (1977: 10–22) must be applied in the future:
"In many cases it is necessary to wash the surface of the stone with non-ionic soap" and to apply "very delicate washable colours"; that is called the "neutral method for discerning the smallest and faintest figures". The next step is called "tracing" by ANATI (1977: 59): The rock is covered by sheets of polyethylene. On such transparent sheets all underlying features are marked by hand, with felt tipped pens, discerning superimposed compositions by using different colours. Photographing and casting (with liquids, contact- and positive casts) are considered by ANATI as additional methods. This procedure needs for a rock of the size 30 x 15 metres 14 collaborators working two and a half months – 8 hours a day. "In order to thoroughly prepare text and illustrations 1277 more working days will have to be employed" – and that would keep our small team busy for more than two years.
I am so explicit here because by this comparison it becomes clear that there is no feasible alternative to photography under our present circumstances. The other reason to avoid time-consuming procedures, as demanded in E. ANATI's booklet under the points "Cleaning – Tracing – Casting" was the fact that the petroglyphs are endangered by actual economic and spiritual developments.
When the Karakorum Highway was built the destructions remained rather moderate – in relation to the fact that 8,000 tons of explosives were used (HAMID 1979: 172). Only the site called Chilās I was heavily affected, where some carvings described by Sir Aurel STEIN have been blasted.
The plan to build a dam at Basha transforming the Indus valley into a lake, would mean the inundation of most of the historically important clusters of petroglyphs (as can be seen on the "Basha Reservoir Map" belonging to a feasibility study of the Montreal Engineering Company). But more dangerous are small daily activities, e.g. the blasting of boulders near to the new roads. Many of them are covered with petroglyphs, but none of the villagers is particularly concerned about that. The fragmented rock is cut into cubes and transported by jeeps or tractors to the villages for the construction of new, prestigious houses in the old

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British colonial style. Other monuments were damaged by passengers engraving their names while travelling along the Karakorum Highway.

The Department of Archaeology and Museums did its best to protect the most spectacular clusters; but as they are spread along the banks of the Indus, at many places accessible from the highway, dozens of attendants would be needed for their control.

So a slow and ideally systematic documentation, step by step, was not advisable; the areas bordering the highway had and still have priority. These parts of the valleys of the Indus and its main tributaries, which have a higher frequency of rock art and inscriptions, are to be divided into segments. (The main clusters located in these segments are called sites.) The description and analysis of the segments and the understanding of the sites must be the final outcome of our efforts.

A simple archive of all recorded petroglyphs (even if they can be used by visitors with outmost liberality, and the data and images are retrievable with the help of modern computers) cannot be considered a full account for the academic community – and even less for interested visitors and authorities. So the necessity remains to present the carvings in a printed form, as a series of volumes.

Recently the Director General of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, demanded for the final report "publication in Pakistan". That corresponds to a general trend and precludes me from going into details here. In this case one task would be the systematic training of our designated collaborators and successors. That is what I had always in mind when I started my work.

A systematic documentation means that all petroglyphs which had been observed should be mentioned – even if not all deserve the same detailed illustration and interpretation. Many images are schematic and can be characterized in the framework of a preconceived typology. But they may also form the setting for others which are highly informative. The larger context must also be recorded, i.e., the coordination of the figures within the context of the site and the site itself in connection with others, which had different and maybe complementary functions. Then

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conclusions may follow in respect of specific and general problems.

But discussion, by printed articles, should start as soon and as intensely as possible. The decipherments proposed by different specialists in the same field are often disarmingly divergent. And we find that even the same scholar may improve or at least change his earlier decipherment after subsequent inspection on the spot. So much of our work is still undergoing a phase of trial and error.

Such preliminary studies have already been disseminated in various journals (as indicated by the bibliography); the Sogdian inscriptions will be published in the frame of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum by Dr SIMS-WILLIAMS, and a "second harvest" will certainly be needed in later years.

Henceforth, we shall offer to such preliminary efforts a series under the heading "Antiquities of Northern Pakistan" with the subtitle "Reports and Studies".

In the first volume of this series – presented here – only linguistic studies have been included, with a strong bias towards Indology. When we received the manuscripts, the staff was even more modest in numbers than it is today, Dr THEWALT had to deal with an enormous number of photographs necessary for the evaluation of the decipherments. As for myself, I had to take over the tasks of an editor, albeit too late in my life to be as effective as I would have wished. So I made vain attempts to reach an overall standardization. On the other hand, I made some dangerous concessions: So in one case additional readings and corrections submitted later on were interwoven with the text into a remarkable embroidery – a practice that clearly had to be stopped if we were ever to reach our schedule of publication. So I have to insist that we are here publishing preliminary reports and studies, often speculative, rather than postpone publication to some indefinite future when systematic documentation is completed. Some historically important inscriptions were already provisionally deciphered by Professor DANI – and the scientific community will want to know what alternatives are proposed by other scholars working on the spot, having access to perhaps better photographs.

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Excellent maps of the area were certainly produced when the route for the Karakorum Highway was traced out, but as usual they are labelled "top secret". So photogrammetry had to replace them for the important clusters, excellent work being done by our site surveyor Robert KAUPER (Dipl. Ing.). In the meantime, linguists developed their own systems, correlated with our own by references to our series of photographs – also mentioning the number given by DANI, who developed himself a system.
If I am mentioned as editor, it simply means that I have taken over responsibility for some editorial decisions, most of the actual work being done by Dr THEWALT and Dr KÖNIG.
In order to make it evident that the articles are preliminary reports, I add some remarks in order to start the discussion:

The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions observed so far in the site Chilās II were studied by FUSSMAN on the spot, several with the help of a binocular. As the access to some of the niches is difficult or even dangerous, for final publication it will be necessary to use "special scaffoldings" as already demanded by A. STEIN (1944: 18), or else the assistance of a photographer who is an experienced climber. This fact explains the not optimal quality of some photographs.
Most of the inscriptions render proper names, without titles. In many cases they mention visitors, persons who produced – or ordered to produce – the graffito. Some of the names are Buddhist, but a "slave of Śiva" is also mentioned. The religion of the visitors responsible for the accumulation of this remarkable cluster was certainly open to a broad syncretism. Therefore, we find deities like Balarāma/Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva/Kṛṣṇa (cf. HÄRTEL 1987), and, most probably, Hāritī. According to the palaeographic analysis, most inscriptions were made in the pre-Kuṣān or early Kuṣān period. Several names appear repeatedly, maybe indicating several visits to the site.
FUSSMAN explains the complex (the term "site" is extremely problematic; we deal only with one of the layers, which can be distinguished so far) as connected with a camp of traders who came with their caravans to the Indus valley, eventually waiting for an easier crossing of the river, when the summer floods had

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faded away, or turning back to the plains after a time of rest passed in the shadow of the rock-shelters, near to the river where their animals found a watering place.

That implies that the identifications and explanations in DANI's book are refuted altogether: no kings, no conquest, not even a sanctuary.

On the basis of my own observations, I am tempted to offer a simple explanation as to why traders might have visited the Indus valley near Chilās and, after completing their transaction returned to Gandhāra, Kashmir or the Punjab.
The banks of the Indus between Chilās and Harban are still much frequented places for gold-washing. In early autumn, I saw the camps of the goldwashers, within a few hundred metres of Chilās II. Gold must have been an export-product of this area since very early times. On the other hand, no reasonable merchant would select the rock face at Chilās II as a resting place. The access to some of the niches is a hazardous exploit, and no grass is available for pack-animals nearby. In summer the area is infested by blood-sucking flies, wrongly but graphically called "tiger mosquitos".
Nevertheless, cliffs like those of Chilās II have been used as sacred places at least since the second millennium B.C., decorated with graffiti presenting deities and demons. So it seems quite possible, even likely, that an intrusive community of Buddhists (as proved by their petroglyphs) took over the habits of the indigenous peoples and placed their own sanctuary within such an impressive scenery.

FUSSMAN deciphered other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions as well, observed outside of the remarkable concentration at Chilās II. They are somewhat later and attest a more modest Buddhist activity, certainly not only by traders since monks are also mentioned. A more substantial commentary may be given to the composite inscription translated by FUSSMAN as: "This is the pious gift" (signed by) "Vijaya-priya (the beloved of victory), the king of the Ribeṃdhatha-race." The first part is in Brāhmī, the second one in Kharoṣṭhī. A date not earlier than the 5th century A.D. is proposed.

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According to FUSSMAN both parts (Brāhmī as well as Kharoṣṭhī) show the same solemn gravity, indicating the prestige of the lord, who had a Sanskrit name but belonged to a lineage (or tribe?) who had preserved the seemingly non-Indoeuropean name of their ancestor. That this man was the chief – or one of the chieftains of the Chilāsis – as assumed by FUSSMAN, is possible. The site where this inscription was observed was probably not associated with the dominant group (who expressed their sentiments in Chilās I), but was rather representative for the population of Chilās; maybe it was the meeting-place of a tribal section or large clan.

In this case we have to face another problem: how to explain that no other bilingual inscription was observed? Why did the chief use Kharoṣṭhī for his signature? Maybe Vijaya-priya was a foreigner – from an area where Kharoṣṭhī was still used for ritual purposes.

In the time when this inscription was made – according to FUSSMAN – the Kharoṣṭhī script survived mainly at the southern fringe of the Tarim Basin and we may take into consideration that the name Vijaya-priya would be convenient for a scion of the house ruling Khotan (cf. FRANCKE 1928). Maybe there were collateral lines ruling in dependencies, sheltered in the mountains. Thus it might be identified with the area called Tūsmat in the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam (1970: 259–262). There, the preservation of the Kharoṣṭhī script would not be surprising. (Impressions of seals, presenting the particulars of the owner in two scripts are known from Bactria as well – KRUGLIKOVA 1984.)

One of the two inscriptions from Oshibat, already deciphered by FUSSMAN, has peculiarities similar to those studied by him near Alam Bridge. Both sites, Oshibat and Alam Bridge as well as Hunza Haldeikish belong to the same category. They were situated on main routes, so the contribution by foreign travellers was even higher than was usual in the sites near Chilās.

In the Indus valley between Shatial and Gor, more Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions were observed during the last campaigns. They will be treated together with those from Hunza Haldeikish. For this site as well, the presentation of decipherments alternative to those of DANI (1985) may be useful.

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O. v. HINÜBER has contributed two articles on the Brāhmī material divided by language and indices, but with a common bibliography. First he deciphered inscriptions visible on our photos, between 1983 and 1987 he participated in most campaigns of our team. His studies bear witness to an astonishing achievement.

Engaged in other projects as well, he could only stay for restricted periods, hardly more than three or four weeks; but during this time, he worked with utmost intensity, sometimes even at night, because in some cases the faint akṣaras are almost invisible in broad daylight and can only be discerned with oblique artificial lighting. Many places were visited in more than one campaign; so we have alternative readings in a number of cases.

Before entering into scientific discussion it must be stressed that the two studies render results of his researches only up to 1985. Later results mainly but not exclusively due to his participation in the campaign 1987 are not included. Quantity and quality of the new contributions deserve publication in a third article rather than complicated insertions in the present texts.

In many cases v. HINÜBER visited areas where systematic registration had not yet been done by other members of the team. Then the current number in his notebook is mentioned together with the pertinent year as e.g., 518-84.

In other cases photos made by members of the team before the documentation are used (e.g. Je 80-17-02).

v. HINÜBER had studied the Gilgit Manuscripts with the main focus on their relevance for Buddhist studies. However, an analysis of the pertinent colophones provided information for the history of the Paṭola Ṣāhis, the kings of Palūr ("Bolor", which I used earlier, is not the best rendering, cf. PELLIOT 1959: 92). Palūr was the paramount power in the Karakorum region between the 5th and the middle of the 8th century A.D.

Before the conclusions of v. HINÜBER appeared in print, TUCCI (1977) and myself (1977) had independently – and apparently without too many errors – reconstructed the outline of the political developments. But v. HINÜBER could add in a series of articles – one of them still unpublished – many details, names, and dates. For his investigations, he could use the unpublished royal inscription at Danyor, which I had seen as early as 1958. In

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1975 I could convince the owner of the land by substantial payments, that the preservation of this monument already destined to be blasted would be rewarding to him.
Palaeographic competence is a basic requirement for such researches, and one's chances are additionally improved by a permanent preoccupation with related kinds of graffiti.
This training allowed v. HINÜBER to decipher Brāhmī inscriptions, in fact different variants (the so-called "Gilgit/Bamīyān script type I" and Proto-Śāradā) in an astonishingly short time: 150 was the maximum in one day; 400 during one campaign may represent the average, repetitions included. So it was a sizeable problem to organize this material and to select interesting and representative samples.
Looking for a systematic approach v. HINÜBER discerned different types: He started with "names either in the nominative or endingless or less often in the genitive case" (type 1), proceeded to those adding verbs meaning "has come, has arrived" (type 2). The next type (type 3a) contains indications of professions, castes and tribes, religious status, official titles. Thus he arranged the inscriptions more or less in conformity to their degree of complexity. Numbers were attributed accordingly. The following type (type 3b) encompasses persons who mention their relation to an ethnic group, a caste or place of origin. A further group (type 3c) gives names with additional terms revealing religious affiliation. The next group of inscriptions announces the names and titles of rulers or officials (type 3d).
We can say that the organizing principle is preserved throughout the first article. Activities are mentioned only in respect to rulers. All the other inscriptions treat of lesser persons and their attributes.
The second article deals with inscriptions describing activities – in most cases the presenting of devotional offerings such as the works of rock art.
The next topic are religious texts mentioning venerated Buddhas and Bodhisatvas, invoking their blessing, but not always telling the name of the adorant monk or layman. Such inscriptions were not produced in the usual technique as "bruisings", but are actual carvings, made with metal implements, i.e. chisels. Very small and exact akṣaras resulted; and they turned out to be ex-

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tremely interesting in content. They quote many names of Tathāgatas so far only known from texts found in Central Asia. The connection with dhāraṇīs and deśanās is evident; and the rock-carvings were probably designed for similar magic functions.

v. HINÜBER did not explain the underlying principle for the arrangement of the material in the second part of his contribution and the system of numbering was clearly constrained by the fact that at all costs it had to close with 109. (The numbers 110—147 had already been used in an article which in fact presented Iranian names which should rather form a subgroup of the type 1 and 2).

On close examination, we see that even in the second part of these twin-articles, v. HINÜBER has maintained a systematic approach and a principle of organization, compatible with that of the first part. But the focus of attention has shifted from the subject and its attributes to activities and motifs including veneration and incantation (also mentioning the pictorial accompaniments of these activities — figures of the Buddhist pantheon).

Most of the results are fascinating for both the linguist and the scholar of Buddhism. Other observations will be crucial for future attempts to reveal the political and ethnic history of the westernmost Himalayas. Some should be discussed here in a broader framework.

In the subsection type 3d dealing with the "titles of officials and rulers" (including "simple honorifics" as well), we hear about two inscriptions which have been translated into English. (A rare concession to readers not trained as indologists!)

Inscription 59 (a,b,c,d) has the following translation: "The subduer of enemies....the glorious (śrī) great king of the Dards, Vaiśravaṇasena, the subduer of enemies, the king, who is a subduer of enemies...The teacher of the glorious (śrī) Vaiśravaṇasena, great king of the Dards, Rudraśarma, is firmly established in the district Avardī."

A comparable inscription was found on the northern bank of the Indus: Inscription 59a. a—d. "The glorious Vaiśravaṇasena, the subduer of enemies, great king in the land of the Dards".

In respect to this second inscription, v. HINÜBER gives the following comment: "This inscription, found directly below the

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modern bridge connecting Chilās and Thalpan, seems to mark the border of the territory held by Vaiśravaṇasena."
It should be mentioned that there are other inscriptions on a man called Vaiśravaṇasena but without mentioning titles; one inscription says that a rājaputra with the same name wrote the inscription (= 59b) with his own hand.

If the inscription 59a had the function of marking the border of the territory held by the Dāradas, as assumed by v. HINÜBER, their rule hardly transgressed the left, i.e. southern bank of the Indus, where the main inscription (59) is situated. That refers to the 4th/5th century A.D. – if the palaeographic attribution should be correct as well. Taking this inscription as a starting point, we may conclude that the centre of the Dārada state was not in the Indus valley nor in the valleys north of the Indus, because we know the powers situated there by name: In the 10th century the Gilgit valley was known as the district Prūśava (BAILEY 1968: 70–72; LAUFER 1908: 1–10). Here had been the land Bru-ža incorporated under the designation "Little Palūr" in the state ruled by a dynasty known as Paṭola or Palolo Ṣāhis. Their headquarters were farther to the east, in Great Palūr (including present Baltistan and perhaps Ladakh). West of Bru-ža were areas known to the Chinese under the names of Chieh-shih and Shang-mi (STEIN 1921: 28–45 after CHAVANNES 1903: 158f., 129, 292).
On the other hand, the population of the Indus valley was called Dāradas and the centre of their state cannot have been very far away. In one of the commentaries to Pāṇini we find an expression meaning "The Indus (coming) from the Dārada-lands" (JETTMAR 1977: 420). So we should shift the focus of our attention towards the south. Here we find Uraśā, corresponding to the present Hazara district (cf. STEIN 1900, II: 434), Oḍi, which may have been located in the Kaghan valley (BAILEY 1980) – and the Nilum/Kishanganga valley, which fits the geographical and historical requirements most perfectly. In the 11th century A.D. this area was called Daraddeśa, land of the Dards (cf. STEIN 1900, II: 435); the town of the Dards (Daratpurī) was situated here (STEIN 1900, VII: 912), "hidden in the mountains", maybe near Gurēz.

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Since there is an easy route between Gurēz and the Indus valley via Barai pass, it is quite reasonable to assume that the state controlling the Nilum/Kishanganga valley could have expanded its influences to the Indus valley. However, this dominance would remain shaky, because in winter-time all passes east and west of Nanga Parbat are closed.

In earlier centuries, there existed an institution of royal fratricide in the principalities of North Pakistan, especially in Chitral, which could explain why Vaiśravaṇasena was educated in the Indus valley. When the king died, the heir apparent killed or tried to kill his brothers and especially half-brothers before they could start a rebellion. Therefore, princes who had no serious chance to become heirs to the throne, but were dear to the heart of the ruler, were sent to border districts. Here they were educated by a powerful and loyal personality. After the death of their father, such a prince could either take refuge beyond the border – or return victoriously to the capital if other princes had failed to get public compliance.

By assuming a similar system we might find an explanation for the modest inscriptions mentioning Vaiśravaṇasena and another person with a similar name, perhaps his brother. Living in a sort of exile, the young prince would have had plenty of time to make rock-inscriptions, and he would have certainly needed a reliable teacher and protector – even of a religion different from his own. To this man he remained grateful after an unexpected promotion.

Another royal inscription made much later – in the 8th century A.D. according to v. HINÜBER – was found on one of the rocks of the site Chilās I. DANI and v. HINÜBER have offered not too discrepant interpretations. It can be taken as certain that the names of the ruler and those of two other members of his family are Sanskrit, although the names of official nobles of his retinue are "obscure at present". v. HINÜBER proposed tentatively that they might be explained on the basis of an early form of Burushaski. Such enigmatic names occur in the colophones of the Gilgit Manuscripts as well, leading to the conclusion that: "This might point to a political as well as cultural difference between the 'Sanskritised' Paṭola Ṣāhis and the perhaps local rulers of Chilās".

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We cannot be sure that Vajraśūra was one of the "local rulers" of Chilās. Maybe he came as a pious Buddhist – together with his family and entourage – to the famous holy places in the Chilās/ Thalpan area. Then the inscriptions, topped by the carving of a stūpa, bear witness to this solemn visit.

If v. HINÜBER'S interpretation is indeed correct, and the inscription reveal Vajraśūra as overlord in the Indus valley during the first half of the 8th century A.D., then the consequences would be even more interesting. In this case we might dare to identify him with the king of the state called Chieh-shi or Chieh-shuai/shu (TUCCI–ENOKI 1977: 89) in the earlier translations of Chinese sources.

The centre of this state had apparently been somewhere not too far from Tokharistan (ENOKI believes that it "occupied the upper waters of the Kunar", i.e., Chitral). It had been subject to the Hephthalites but remained Buddhist. Maybe one of the modern names of Chitral, Kashkar, corresponds to the term used by the Chinese as originally proposed by Aurel STEIN (1907: 19). Perhaps Kashkar was the land of the Khasa (TUCCI 1977: 82). They were certainly an important ethnic group, expanding far towards the east.

The Chinese sources tell that Chieh-shi formed an alliance with the Tibetans and attacked Tokharistan; on the other hand, it closed the way to the caravans bringing rice and salt from Kashmir to the Chinese troops which had occupied Little Palūr. That probably means that Chieh-shi controlled the Indus valley between Chilās and Bunji, the zone which had to be crossed by the main lines of supply. Several scholars including myself (JETTMAR 1977: 416; STEIN 1907: 13–16; 1921: 32) were convinced that something must have been wrong in this story. How can one minor state be able to be aggressive in two areas far away from each other? However, if one of the rulers of Chieh-shi had conquered the Indus valley beforehand, then such a situation could have existed for a while. That could explain the strange names of the courtiers as well; the language of Chitral, Khowar, still has an enigmatic non-Indoeuropean substratum (MORGENSTIERNE 1973: 241).

There is still another open question: Who were the overlords of the Indus valley in the long interval between the inscriptions of

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Vaiśravaṇasena and that of Vajraśūra? Hardly the Paṭolas, because their inscriptions, found in the Indus valley and discussed by O. v. HINÜBER, are rather informal, mentioning no titles. So they probably came as pious visitors – or refugees.

At the moment, it is more reasonable to assume that the valley between the gorges of the Indus north of the Nanga Parbat and the gorges below Shatial were still considered to be a part of the Dārada kingdom but virtually independent. Tribes and landlords could make their own politics; the Chinese pilgrims heard nothing about local rulers, but tell about a religious centre, situated in Ta-li-lo (STEIN 1928: 20–22). BĪRŪNĪ heard about the area under the name Shamil or Shamilan (JETTMAR 1984: 212); he was informed about a famous "idol" of Shamil, perhaps the wooden Maitreya-statue already known to XUANZANG (BEAL 1884/1969: 134).

v. HINÜBER closes his first article by presenting the almost complete deciphering of a lengthy inscription, found on a boulder on the barren plateau overlooking Shigar, the former capital of one of the principalities in Baltistan. This inscription was made when Baltistan was part of the Palūrian Kingdom, i.e., a well administrated Buddhist state, using Sanskrit as the official language.

The author had submitted the second part of his contribution in German, also used for the third part (Inscriptions 110–147), already printed in Studia Grammatica Iranica (1986).

Starting in the same area, where the last inscription of the first part is located – namely in Baltistan – he now discusses "votive inscriptions". Most of them belong to graffiti (produced by bruising) or actual engravings of distinctly Buddhist content – representing Buddhas, Bodhisatvas and most frequently stūpas.

They record the names and the pious intentions of "the persons who in lieu of erecting stūpas had to content themselves with offering such rock-pictures as modest proofs of their devotion". This explanation proposed by A. STEIN (1944: 22) is accepted as reasonable by v. HINÜBER. He believes that many of the Buddhist donors remained only for a relatively short time in the mountains, not long enough to make all the necessary arrangements for the construction of a real stūpa. Therefore, they had

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to restrict themselves to producing a graffito plus inscription. For the same reason, he says, many bruisings remained incomplete.

But this is only one of the possible explanations; and in some cases it seems improbable. Some of the chief donors were responsible for petroglyphs, representing stūpas of different types, made by artists who did not use the same technique; and stylistic differences are evident as well.

We should rather take into account that in the Indus valley petroglyphs were made for religious purposes from its earliest prehistory. So apart from real stūpas, which were much more exposed to destruction, graffiti were made or ordered as well – with the same pious intention.

We do not know how the artists were rewarded by their customers – certainly not in cash, since no coins were ever found here. Maybe gold-dust in fixed quantities was used, as was the custom only a century ago. More likely are liberal allocations of food or hospitality for a prolonged period.

The Gilgit Manuscripts were produced under similar conditions. They were copied at the request of wealthy and influential persons eager to gain religious merits for themselves as well as their living or dead relatives – and willing to care for the subsistence of the scribes (v. HINÜBER 1983: 55).

The pertinence of the donors to the regional elite does not mean that they were necessarily settled in the immediate neighbourhood – it is quite possible that they ordered additional decorations of the sacred precinct including Thalpan and Chilās I during subsequent pilgrimages.

None of the great sponsors seems to have boasted of official titles. Maybe they exercised pious restraint, or they were merchants, the respective organizers of the caravans.

A recurrent donor named Siṅhoṭa clearly had a preference for an artist or a workshop with a distinctive style; another, Kuberavāhana was less selective, but here also a favorite artist is evident. Maybe such local donors made use of a wide choice offered by the temporary presence of foreign artists. That would explain sophistication as well as diversity.

Maybe some of them came due to the "loss of patronage" in the lowlands as assumed by DANI (1983: 130); maybe they came for

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their own safety which was threatened by the Chionitic inroads in the time between the travels of the Chinese pilgrim SONG YUN (518–522 A.D.) and the journey of XUANZANG (629–645 A.D.). (JETTMAR 1986: 193).

If such conjectures are correct, then we indeed find "the final stage of Buddhist Art of Gandhāran origin" radiating from otherwise destroyed centres in North Pakistan, i.e., in the Indus valley. Nothing could be more interesting for the historian of art, even when the concrete places of reference are still doubtful in most cases. Systematic excavations in the Hazara District and Azad Kashmir are necessary in order to solve the relevant problems.

In the site Chilās I some Bodhisatvas visible on the rocks facing the Highway are wearing "crowns" which attracted v. HINÜBER's special interest. He concluded that the components of this ceremonial headdress were not mounted on a solid ring-shaped hoop, but were fixed to a sort of ribbon. It was closed at the back of the head by a bow-knot, the ends of the ribbon hanging down. This was certainly an ingenious construction: very practical because, due to the flexible base, it could be adapted to the size of the head, but also folded and preserved in a small bag or casket.

In Tillja-tepe, northwestern Afghanistan, a golden "crown" or rather diadem matching this description was discovered in the grave of a noble lady, almost certainly a queen or princess (SARIANIDI 1985: 258, pl. 12–15). The basis was a band of gold-sheet, 2.5 cm broad, with a length of 45 cm. At the ends were loops for fixing the ribbons, to be knotted behind the head. Small transverse tubes are fixed to the band while five decorations in the form of plants or trees with flowers had similar tubes. Thus, the decorations could be fixed to the diadem with the help of straight pins. The extremely rich grave goods (including coins) attest a date not later than the first century A.D. So the Bodhisatvas were featured as wearing a ceremonial headdress which had a long tradition.

A part of the material, which N. SIMS-WILLIAMS presents in his contribution "The Sogdian Inscriptions of the Upper Indus: A Preliminary Report", had already been studied by HUMBACH

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(1980) who had at his disposal a series of rather poor quality photographs which I took in 1979, mainly at the site Shatial Bridge. In the same report, a limited number of inscriptions in other Iranian scripts were discussed. I had earlier submitted selected copies to V.A. LIVŠIC who reacted by two letters, one addressed to me, the other one to HUMBACH. For a comprehensive presentation, it was agreed with the editors of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum that Dr SIMS-WILLIAMS should join our team, see the sites, and publish the pertinent part of our material in their series, notwithstanding our intention to include the inventory of all sites in the final edition.

Therefore, only a short summary, sparsely illustrated, is printed in this volume just sufficient to indicate the historical importance of the site of Shatial Bridge, where most of the Sogdian inscriptions are concentrated.

LIVŠIC dated the earliest inscriptions within the 3rd to 4th centuries A.D., others between the 5th to 8th centuries; but in some cases even the 9th century would be acceptable to him. HUMBACH assumed that at least a part of the Sogdian inscriptions are contemporary with Sanskrit inscriptions of the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. The rest might be earlier, nearer to the famous Sogdian "Ancient Letters", which were found in or near watchtowers of the "Tun-huang Limes" by Aurel STEIN. SIMS-WILLIAMS insists that the "Ancient Letters" were correctly attributed by HENNING to the beginning of the 4th century (312/313 A.D.). The date proposed by J. HARMATTA (1979: 164), at the end of the 2nd century A.D., is rejected by him.

What intention could have lured to many literate people speaking Sogdian to the site Shatial Bridge, a rather gloomy place in the Indus valley?

In my first attempt to deal with the question (1980: 175), I called Shatial Bridge a point of junction in a trade system maintained by the Sogdians. My explanation was based on the well-known fact that many of the trans-Asiatic routes in Central Asia were implemented by merchants of Sogdian extraction (SMIRNOVA 1970: 122–198). Religious motivation, for instance pilgrimage, seemed improbable. Their names give evidence that many Sogdians considered themselves as "servants of Iranian deities".

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Therefore, I concluded that the Sogdians were not only active in the flourishing trade with the Far East: they also organized the caravan routes to India via Gandhāra or Kashmir.

A traveller looking for the shortest connection between Sogdiana and India might choose a route over the Pamirs or via Badakhshan: after crossing the Hindukush range he will reach the upper part of the Gilgit valley. From there, via easy passes, he may enter the valleys of Tangir or Darel; they would lead him down to the Indus, not far from Shatial. Here, the river had to be crossed – and that was certainly a major event marking the end of one section of the journey, a major occasion for offerings and prayers, and for the production of commemorative petroglyphs.

When I was reading the report of SIMS-WILLIAMS I felt that my opinion was not contradicted but was perhaps even confirmed by the new data. SIMS-WILLIAMS observes the "heroic tinge" of the proper names occurring in many inscriptions – quite compatible with the profession of a Sogdian merchant venturer. Almost three hundred years later, noble families supporting their life of luxury by commercial activities, decorated the assembly halls of their residences at Panjikent with wall paintings glorifying the heroic deeds of armoured knights, supposedly their ancestors (AZARPAY 1981: 79–125).

Certainly, actual behaviour did not always match such chivalrous standards. If the interpretations offered so far are correct, then we see that fellow travellers were also ridiculed without inhibition. Some of the carvings are "sexually explicit". Allusions in uncouth wording occur as well. Elsewhere in the Indus valley, later visitors were inclined to respect the signs and names of earlier travellers; but the Sogdian merchants were rather inconsiderate in this respect.

A disturbing question is still open: Several hundred Iranian inscriptions (surely more than 90% of those known from Northern Pakistan) are concentrated in the western wing of the site Shatial Bridge, on rocks spread over a steep slope, leading down to the left bank of the Indus. They are intermingled with many Brāhmī inscriptions, together with some other scripts and languages.

The eastern wing of the site, however, now called Shatial II or Shatial East, has almost exclusively Brāhmī inscriptions (an

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isolated Sogdian palaeograph was recently observed). Here, stūpa-carvings are most numerous. We are definitely in another cultural setting.

There is no reasonable chance of getting an explanation of the difference between eastern and western wing by chronology; for they are contemporary or at least overlapping. And what was the reason that Sogdian inscriptions are rare in most of the other sites in the Indus valley east of Shatial Bridge?

It is well-known that merchants were considered as potential spies in the days of the Mongol Empire. There was an age-old tradition of this kind. The movements of Muslim traders were submitted to many restrictions in the heyday of Mohammedan power and aggression. We learn from BĪRŪNĪ that all entries to the valley of Kashmir, most of them situated on high passes, were strictly controlled. No foreigners from western countries were allowed to enter, and only Jews were permitted for a while (SACHAU 1888/1962: 277; cf. JETTMAR 1987: 669).

In the town Rajawari, Muslim merchants had to hand over their goods to their partners (SACHAU 1888/1962: 279). IBN KHURDĀDHBIH (9th century A.D.) learnt that the snow-bound mountains in the north "are crossed only by a certain tribe of infidels who carried the merchandise on either side for the merchants of Multan and China" (JAFAREY 1979: 213) – evidently an equally restrictive practice.

Should the site Shatial Bridge not be explained as an emporium, situated on the fringe of the territory normally permitted to Sogdian caravans? Was it the place where the traders exchanged their goods against Indian exports brought by partners from Gandhāra, Taxila and Uraśā? Maybe one of the Chinese inscriptions refers to this situation. One word might be translated as "mountain pass" but also as "transition" or "boundary" – as I was informed by H. FRANKE and D. SECKEL.

In this interpretation one problem remains, i.e. that all inscriptions – Sogdian as well as those in Brāhmī – are situated on the southern bank of the Indus.

The river below the inscriptions is not broad – but swift, even raging. Travellers using skin rafts crossed the Indus a few miles upstream – at the mouth of the Harban valley. There it was even

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possible to bring horses to the opposite embankment by using flat barges (as it was in 1955, when I myself had to cross there).
The problem can be solved by assuming that the Indus could be crossed near Shatial by a bridge, broad enough and solidly constructed so that it could be used by riders and pack-animals. Such bridges must have existed in the heyday of the Trans-Karakorum Traffic System (5th–8th century A.D.). A bridge connecting the banks of the Gilgit river, over a distance of an arrow-shot and suitable for cavalry is mentioned in a Chinese report. A full year had been needed to complete it (cf. CHAVANNES 1903: 153 n.).
Such a laborious construction was certainly well guarded. Accordingly, I concluded that the power controlling the access from the northern side, protecting the Sogdian merchants, had a fortified bridgehead on the southern bank. So I named a suitable place overlooking the site Shatial I and easy to defend "Shatial Fort". In the meantime, Dr THEWALT found the remains of stone walls closing the gaps between the natural barriers – so my prediction was justified.
Most southern trade partners wrote Brāhmī and were Buddhists. Not all of them were completely aliens, many of them had Iranian names as well (cf. v. HINÜBER 1986), but this did not preclude tensions and a sort of "joking relationship" with their Sogdian colleagues coming from the north. The strange observations which were made at Shatial, but especially in Thor North might be explained by such a behaviour. We will come back to this point when discussing SANDER's contribution.
Some of the persons who made Brāhmī inscriptions were identified by v. HINÜBER as tribals. Two persons call themselves jaṭṭa, i.e. Jāṭs. One man with an unexplained name declares his intention to proceed further into the Khasa kingdom. According to the Rājataraṅgiṇī (STEIN 1900/1961: 430) the Khasas were located in the hills south and west of Kashmir. But Chitral was considered as a homeland of the Khasas as well, where the name Kashkar was still known in the 19th century (TUCCI 1977: 65, 82). Maybe this Khasa-land on the soil of modern Chitral was the destination of the traveller – and this was mentioned in the inscriptions, because normal persons would not be allowed to go so far.

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If Shatial was situated near to a boundary protected by a frontier guard, then which states or tribal associations were involved?
The most perspicuous prospect of the political setting was offered by B.N. VAJNBERG (1972) using the studies of GÖBL (1967), LUKONIN (1967, 1969) and MARŠAK (1971) as a base.
The main breaks in the history of Tokharistan, formerly held by the Kuṣāns, were the campaigns of Shapur II. They caused the destruction visible in the Buddhist monastery Kara Tepe and were followed by the minting of the (so-called) Kuṣāno-Sasanian coins. The rulers portrayed were Sasanian princes invested as governors in the Kuṣān territories, preserving the titles of their famous predecessors. VAJNBERG, accepting LUKONIN's interpretation (but not in all respects), thinks that the earlier series of such coins started in 368 A.D. and lasted until the end of the 4th century A.D. In this period the main economic centres of the Sogdian homeland were under the influence of the Sasanians, but they were not incorporated into the Sasanian state. Sogdian coins of this period must be attributed to local chiefs. Therefore, there was no barrier against the infiltration of Hunnic tribes, the so-called Chionites. The Sasanians considered them as most effective allies, as we can see in the wars of Shapur II against the Roman Empire, e.g., during the siege of Amida (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS XVIII,7/2; XIX,1/1–7).
Chionite presence in Sogdiana was longlasting. We learn that a large part of the nobility was of Chionitic origin, many of them descendants of mixed marriages (SMIRNOVA 1970: 38–69; 1981: 20–66).
According to numismatic evidence we can attribute only rather restricted periods to the Kuṣāno-Sasanians, according to VAJNBERG (1972: 150–51) between 368 and 400 and a second one between 450 and 459 A.D.
It seems, therefore, more reasonable to make a general statement and to say that the protectors of the routes from Sogdiana to the Indus were probably Chionites, who preserved their position as part of the ruling elite up to the end of the 8th century A.D.
Since the late 4th century A.D. a Chionitic federation which had occupied the eastern part of Tokharistan as well as Badakhshan

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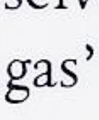
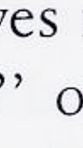
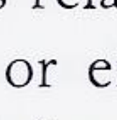
produced coins, on which HUMBACH recognized the name "Goboziko" written in Bactrian letters. Later on, the better known Hephthalites became the dominant group. In 519 A.D., the Chinese pilgrim SONG YÜN was received by the Hephthalite ruler with great honours – maybe in Badakhshan. Evidently the nobility had still preserved the ancient nomadic life-style in spite of luxurious material conditions provided by the settled population. When the Turks entered the scene, they liquidated the centralized state of the Hephthalites, who were attacked by the Sasanians as well – between 553 and 557 A.D. But in the area called Tokharistan Hephthalites remained still an important ethnic element, as reflected by the relevant chapter of the T'ang chou (translated by CHAVANNES 1903: 155–160). Hephthalite rulers were ready to collaborate with the Chinese, when the Tang had defeated the Turks; legations reached the Tang capital in 729 and 748 A.D.

That such groups were present in Shatial, at least men who felt themselves related to or protected by them, can be confirmed by "tamgas" or emblems observed on the rocks. Signs like  or  are known from the coins of the Goboziko group,  is hephthalitic.

SIMS-WILLIAMS comments that "the main importance of the material lies in the large number of personal names which it attests". It may be added that the frequent occurrence of the ethnic term XWN = Chun which is used here as a personal name means that the Chionites acted as individuals, proudly announcing their origin. This is understandable and justified, e.g., by the noble attitude of GRUMBATES and his men during the siege of Amida (AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS XVIII,6, XIX,1,2). Apparently they were well accepted by the resident population, and then slowly assimilated. This is in accordance with the observations of archaeologists in Tokharistan and Sogdiana: there is no break in the cultural development in the time between the 4th and 6th centuries A.D.

Among the rock-carvings observed in Shatial Fort we find the impressive representation of a fire-altar, rather low and broad, with two horns and a central funnel-shaped spout.

The shape is similar, but not identical, with that seen on coins of the Iranian Huns published by GÖBL as emission 174 (1967, III:

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Pl. 38, 39; I: 122–125). There, such compact fire-altars are flanked by two attendants. Below, we see two wheels connected by a curved line like a pair of spectacles upside down. The name of the ruler mentioned on the front-side of such coins was Narendra or Naraṇa. GÖBL is convinced that such coins belong to a relatively late period in the history of the Hunnic tribes in India, between 570/80–600 A.D. Then, he concludes, defeated in the plains and even losing their grip on Kashmir, they returned via present-day Afghanistan to their northern starting position.
Maybe the occurrence of the typical fire-altar at Shatial Fort means that the Hephthalite rulers who had formerly controlled the bridgehead were now replaced by "White Huns" (Chionites) who had their base in the south. This would explain an inscription in Brāhmī observed near the fire-altar. We may add that the strange symbol on Narendra's coins similar to a pair of spectacles was also seen near Chilās below a stūpa-carving!
There must have been disturbances even in earlier periods, and then the merchants were able to transgress the demarcation line. That may explain the minor clusters of Sogdian inscriptions in Oshibat and Thor North – and of exotic "tamgas".
"Tamgas" were originally conceived as the owner's marks for branding cattle. This function has been preserved to the present day among Mongolian pastoralists. But they were also used by the nomads of the first millennium A.D. as symbols for tribes, clans, families, even individuals. They appear on coins – also on those of the Sogdian towns. Such tamgas are to be seen on the rocks between Shatial and Chilās – and that will help us to identify the place of the travellers' origin (SMIRNOVA 1970: 155–198; 1981). So far I can see a concentration in the upper part of the Zerafshan valley.

L. SANDER is a specialist for palaeography, trained by intense and longlasting studies devoted to the manuscripts of the Turfan-collection at Berlin. She contributed an important article with the modest title "Remarks on the Formal Brāhmī of Gilgit, Bāmiyān, and Khotan". Apart from Khotan, Bāmiyān (and Mary = Merv, for this information I am obliged to Dr Sander) this script was spread in the mountains between Chitral (STEIN 1921: 37–41) and Ladakh (as recently observed). Manuscripts

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belonging to this group were found in Gilgit. A further attempt to delimit the actual area of diffusion should be based on a study of the legends on late Kuṣān, Kidaritic, and Chionitic coins, still a task for the future. Previously other terms had been proposed for this variety of the Brāhmī script; however, the name preferred by SANDER should be maintained in the future in order to avoid unnecessary confusion.

There are other problems. E.g., we read: "When the Mahāyāna movement became popular, it may have spread to Khotan, perhaps starting from Gilgit, a center of Mahāyānism and the Mūlasarvāstivāda school". Here we should add the reservation that in this case "Gilgit" stands as a token for a much larger territory. My assumption that the Gilgit Manuscripts were rather produced in Baltistan is still not falsified. Baltistan had even closer connections with Kashmir than Gilgit proper – and a direct route via the Mustagh pass to Khotan.

It should be repeated that it is still an open question whether the so-called Gilgit Manuscripts were written in Gilgit. There are many reasons to accept v. HINÜBER's conclusion that the manuscripts formed the working library of a monastery which had close connection with the kings of the Paṭola Ṣāhi dynasty (v. HINÜBER 1983: 50). It must have been under the special protection of these rulers – and near to their residence. But Gilgit was situated in Little Palūr, and that was apparently an area which was conquered by Paṭolas, the old name being Bru-ža. A new residence was built near Hatun (CHAKRAVARTI 1953/54; JETTMAR 1981). So it seems that the main residence was rather situated somewhere in Great Palūr, further to the east, maybe in the basin of Skardu. The term "palolo" is still used as a heteronym, the inhabitants of Baltistan or "pale" are called so by their Dardic neighbours. We may assume that after the annexation of Great Palūr by the Tibetans, when the dynasty retreated to their western colony – the monks of the royal monastery followed their protectors, bringing their books with them. According to HUEI-CHA'AO, the Tibetans were still pagans, when that happened (FUCHS 1939: 443); even if this is not correct, it may reflect the situation among the soldiery.

A period of bloody battles between the invading armies – the Tibetans and the Chinese, who exiled the last Paṭola Ṣāhi from

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his former domain to China and transformed his state into a military district (CHAVANNES 1903: 151–154) – was the next phase; then came a period of Tibetan overlordship, ending with the collapse of the empire in the middle of the 9th century A.D. Gilgit became the capital of the next dynasty, the Dārada Ṣāhis. It is reasonable to assume that one of them ordered the enshrinement of the manuscripts in an especially constructed stūpa – near to their own palace. After all, Śāradā was now the regular script; so the library would probably have been incomprehensible, merely a treasure with magical powers.
A further argument for the identification of the main capital is the claim of the Paṭola Ṣāhis mentioned in the Hatun-inscription to be "born in the lineage of Bhagadatta" (CHAKRAVARTI 1953/54: 228). The descendants of Bhagadatta (son of Naraka) apparently ruled over two different kingdoms far from each other – both called Prāgjyotiṣa. One was in Assam – but the other one in the mountains north of Kashmir. When Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa conquered and destroyed a town which had exactly this name, he came to an area with sand-dunes; Dāradas and Bhauṭṭas are mentioned in the same context, the land of the women was not far. Everyone of these details fits into my proposal (KALHAṆA, IV/168–174).

SANDER's article has an appendix dealing with Brāhmī graffiti from Thor North, where after a short introduction, she makes most interesting observations. Checking our photos, she became aware that on one of the rocks, located on the barren plateau overlooking the Indus, just opposite the mouth of the Thor valley, there is a cluster of strange "pornographic" graffiti. When I had seen these carvings in 1979, I was also struck by these provocative images. I postponed immediate publication in order to avoid destruction by the pious and strictly moral inhabitants of the hamlet on the opposite bank of the river. The villagers – goldwashers by profession – had just started in these years to bring their cattle to the other side of the Indus for grazing, although I could hardly detect any blades of grass there between rocks, gravel and sand. But the landowning peasants in the upper part of the Thor valley had just decided to cut off the goldwashers from access to the high-meadows until they were ready

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to pay the traditional taxes. The goldwashers had refused further tributes anticipating a future land reform. In the meantime, an agreement was reached, and the ferry constructed for the transfer of the cattle – which gave us access to the other side – is normally out of use. Therefore, the site Thor North is now almost inaccessible, so I do not think that this discussion will have fatal consequences for the "bold" graffiti now.

I refer to the description given by SANDER and I will not discuss whether a similar motif was already depicted in the Achaemenid period (cf. SURIEN 1979: 83 – the date is rather problematic), but propose an explanation for this rather primitive and vulgar graffito.

Sexually explicit, humorous, or rather playful clay-figurines are not rare in the collections brought together by Sir Aurel STEIN and others in the classical sites of the Tarim Basin. Many of them came from Khotan (D'JAKONOVA-SOROKIN 1960: 20–22, pl. 29). Apparently, the enlightened part of the settlers in the rich oasis (many of them merchants) had a special predilection for such toy-like items; often monkeys are the actors, instead of humans. This gave me the explanation, when I observed such "dirty graffiti" on the rocks of the site Shatial Bridge. They depict monkeys, but the upper parts of their bodies are transformed into phalli. After all, the Sogdians were sophisticated and urbane travellers as well. Some inscriptions may belong into the same category (HUMBACH 1980: 204–205).

But in Thor North the person sexually attacked (without female attributes) has prolongated earlobes, the aggressor with the large phallus is provided with an (misunderstood?) "uṣṇīṣa". These marks can be explained by the intention to indicate that the persons involved are Buddhists – or belong even to the Buddhist pantheon. Maybe we here find an allusion to the bias for homosexuality which was imputed to monks in many cultures. So we could assume that this was meant as a taunt directed by a Sogdian, non-Buddhist merchant against his Buddhist partners.

There are two possibilities for the offended to react in such a situation: One normal reaction would be to destroy the graffito – the other one would be to retort with an even more provocative accusation. And in fact, we see on the same rock a man in a sodomising pose, characterized by the long girded coat as worn

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by Iranians. Maybe there is one more graffito of the same kind – a compound reaction to the initial insult.
The inscription which gave the stimulus to deal with this group of graffiti is written in Brāhmī, and this should be a warning to connect this short text with the man who had conceived and executed the graffito. It is quite normal that such "accusations by drawings" are turned into a new direction by the later addition of a name.

I regret that MA YONG, the author of the last contribution did not live to see the printed text of his article, nor even the preprint, which appeared in the pages of "Pakistan Archaeology".
As for the content of this important article, it seems to me an open question as to whether a delegation of the Great Wei-Dynasty would have made such an enormous detour via the Karakorum – crossing the main range (and necessarily re-crossing later on) in order to approach a town in Sogdiana. It seems more reasonable to consider the possibility that the Chinese characters transliterated and interpreted as Mi-Mi (= Maimurgh) rather mean another town not identified so far, situated somewhere in Gandhāra, in the mountains between Swat and Kashmir.

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Abbreviations:

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GÉRARD FUSSMAN

LES INSCRIPTIONS KHAROṢṬHĪ DE LA PLAINE DE CHILAS

I *Introduction*

Je dois à la générosité scientifique du Prof. Karl JETTMAR d'avoir pu connaître et étudier dans les meilleures conditions les inscriptions kharoṣṭhī de Chilas. Il m'en a signalé l'existence et m'a donné tous les renseignements nécessaires pour que je puisse aller les relever sur place, ce qui fut fait en Août 1980 grâce à une mission conjointe du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et du Ministère des Relations Extérieures. Je pus passer à nouveau quelques jours à Chilas, en compagnie de mes collègues allemands et pakistanais cette fois, en Septembre 1983. Par courtoisie et respect pour le Prof. Ahmad Hasan DANI qui préparait aussi une édition de ces textes, je me suis abstenu de les publier jusqu'à la parution de son *Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)*. Entretemps j'ai communiqué, oralement ou par écrit, mes conclusions au Prof. K. JETTMAR; j'en ai fait le sujet d'une courte communication, que le présent travail me dispense de publier, à l'«International Conference on Archaeology, Ethnology, History, Art, Linguistics, Languages, Folklore and Social Condition of Northern Areas of Pakistan» superbement organisée à Gilgit, du 24 au 30 Septembre 1983, par le Prof. A.H. DANI. Le déchiffrement de ces inscriptions a été l'objet principal de mon séminaire au Collège de France en 1984–1985. Les lectures que j'avais pu faire sur place ont été confrontées à plusieurs jeux de photographies en noir et blanc et couleurs, prises par le Prof. K. JETTMAR, son assistant le Dr. V. THEWALT et moi-même, et aux illustrations fournies par DANI 1983 (clichés de V. THE-

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WALT pour la plupart d'entre elles). Les photographies illustrant le présent travail proviennent des archives constituées à Heidelberg par mes collègues allemands.

On trouvera dans la présente étude

a) le corpus des inscriptions (lecture, traduction, commentaire) avec référence aux représentations qu'elles accompagnent chaque fois que cela sera nécessaire à la compréhension de ces inscriptions ou utile à l'étude de ces représentations. Mais je me suis abstenu de donner l'inventaire et la description de toutes les représentations existant dans les sites de Chilas comportant des inscriptions kharoṣṭhī: ce travail sera l'œuvre du Dr. V. THEWALT.
b) une conclusion d'ensemble;
c) une concordance entre DANI 1983 et le présent travail;
d) deux index (termes figurant dans les inscriptions de Chilas et représentations commentées);
e) la liste des abréviations bibliographiques utilisées.

Le corpus des inscriptions est présenté de la façon suivante:

chiffre en caractères gras (**2**): numéro de la paroi ou de la portion de paroi; la numérotation se fait d'aval en amont, à l'inverse de l'ordre amont-aval suivi par DANI 1983;

chiffre en caractères normaux (2): numéro d'ordre du graffito sur cette même paroi, généralement de haut en bas et de droite à gauche.

On trouvera successivement l'indication de l'emplacement, la liste des publications où l'inscription a été étudiée ou illustrée, sa transcription, sa traduction, sa date et un bref commentaire.

Signes conventionnels utilisés: [ ] partie endommagée ou raisonnablement restituée; ( ) correction; ⟨ ⟩ ajout; X *akṣara* manquant ou absolument illisible; . lettre disparue. Sauf précision contraire, droite et gauche sont toujours celles du spectateur.

Les dates spécifiées de façon absolue, par référence à notre ère, sont en fait des dates relatives calculées à partir de l'ère de Kaniṣka considérée comme commençant en 78 de n.è.

Le critère paléographique principal est la forme du *sa*: avant le premier siècle avant n.è., le *sa* est gravé en deux parties et sa tête est entièrement fermée; entre 50 avant n.è. et 50 après n.è., il est gravé en deux parties et la tête est à moitié ouverte; à partir de Wima Kadphisès et toujours depuis Kaniṣka, il est tracé en une

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seule fois et sa tête est largement ouverte (FUSSMAN 1970: 48–50).

II *Chilas II*

1 Inscriptions très effacées sur une paroi faisant face à l'Ouest. DANI 1983: 119 n° 95 et 120–122. JETTMAR 1985: 16, photo n° 13.

1, 1 *Samudra*, «Samudra». *Pl. 3*

1, 2 *Rama*[*kri*]*ṣa*, «Rāma-kṛṣṇa». *Pl. 4*

1, 3 *Jha*XXX

1, 4 illisible (brāhmī).

Date. 1, 1, avec son *sa* gravé en deux parties et à boucle demi-fermée, est antérieur à Kaniṣka: l'inscription doit être datée des cinquante premières années du Ier siècle de n.è. 1, 2 et 1, 3 ne comportent aucune particularité graphique qui permette de les dater, mais il est raisonnable de penser qu'il s'agit de textes contemporains de 1, 1. 1, 4, en brāhmī, leur est sans doute postérieur de plusieurs siècles.

Commentaire. L'inscription 1, 1 (plus haut et à droite de 8, 1 et 9, 2) n'a pas été vue par A.H. DANI. Il s'agit d'un nom au nominatif, *Samudra*, «océan», qui reparaît en 1, 1 et 1, 2. Il peut s'agir d'un nom abrégé type *Samudra-gupta-*, «protégé par l'Océan», *Samudra-datta-*, «donné par l'Océan», etc. ou *Guṇa-samudra-*, «Océan de qualités» (HILKA 1910: 59–63). Les noms en *Samudra* sont bien attestés dans la littérature sanskrite (HILKA 1910: 114–115). On trouve au Cachemire de nombreux toponymes formés avec ce mot (STEIN 1900: index). *Samudra* seul est également bien attesté, en particulier dans l'*Aśokāvadāna* où un personnage de ce nom est le responsable direct de la conversion au bouddhisme d'Aśoka (STRONG 1983: 73–74).

Isolé au Nord de la paroi, n'accompagnant aucun dessin, *Samudra* est simplement la «signature» d'un personnage qui a jugé bon d'inscrire son nom en cet endroit. La même interprétation vaut pour 1, 2 et 1, 3, noms au nominatif également, qui sont gravés

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au-dessus de deux représentations masculines. J'en fais deux inscriptions contemporaines l'une de l'autre parce que j'observe un léger décalage entre 1, 2 et 1, 3, mais il est possible qu'il s'agisse d'un seul texte. DANI 1983 a donné une lecture à peu près correcte de 1, 2: *Rama-Kr̥ṣṇasa*. En réalité, il n'y a jamais eu de *-sa*. Le signe transcrit *-ṣṇ-* par A.H. DANI est un *-ṣ-* surmonté d'un trait horizontal, première attestation à ma connaissance d'une combinaison qui note le groupe *-ṣṇ-* du sanskrit, ou plutôt sa résultante en moyen-indien, sur le reliquaire de Kurram (an 20 de Kaniṣka) et dans le *Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (BROUGH 1962: 63 § 9). Le troisième *akṣara* se laisse mal discerner sur la pierre comme sur les photos, mais la lecture assurée *RamaXṣa* impose une restitution °[*kri*]*ṣa* < *Rāma-kr̥ṣṇa-*. On distingue effectivement au bas ce qui pourrait être un *-r-* et sur le côté une barre oblique qui pourrait être un *i* mais qui est trop à gauche. *Rāma-kr̥ṣṇa* est un nom porté par plusieurs auteurs d'ouvrages en sanskrit.

Pour 1, 3 DANI propose *Dhamaputrasa*; je vois *jha*XXX, c'est-à-dire le *dha* de DANI, mais avec une barre verticale à droite clairement visible sur la photo; le reste est illisible. Cette initiale implique probablement un nom < *dhyāna-* «méditation», par exemple *Dhyāna-rata-*, etc.[1].

Le décalage vers le haut de 1, 3 montre que 1, 2 et 1, 3 ont été gravés postérieurement aux deux représentations qu'ils surmontent. Ils ne peuvent servir à les identifier, mais ils permettent de les dater avec une certaine précision en leur fournissant un *terminus ante quem*: environ 50 de n.è. Ces représentations ont été correctement identifiées par A.H. DANI: à droite Kr̥ṣṇa tenant le disque (*cakra-*) de la gauche et levant sa massue de la droite; à gauche Balarāma, plus grand, portant une araire brandie contre son épaule gauche (ce qui garantit l'identification des deux personnages) et un pilon (*musala-*) dans sa main droite levée. Kr̥ṣṇa est plus petit que Balarāma. Le même couple est figuré en 7.

1 Si kharoṣṭhī *jha* transcrit un phonème /z/ ou /δ/, on peut imaginer qu'il s'agit d'un nom en *dhāna-*, «richesse». C'est ainsi que BROUGH 1962: 61 § 6b traduit «de Dhāna-priya- fils de Mahā-dhāna-» une inscription de Sirkap où KONOW 1929: 100 nº 3 voyait le nom d'un «Dhyāna-priya- fils de Mahā-dhyāna-».

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Bien que Balarāma/ Saṃkarṣaṇa et Vāsudeva/Kṛṣṇa soient des divinités originaires de Mathurā, le costume qu'ils portent à Chilas II n'est pas celui qu'on leur connaît dans la statuaire proprement indienne: *dhotī*, turban, disque à bord lisse pour Vāsudeva[2]. Il semble analogue à celui qu'on leur voit sur les drachmes d'Agathocle: jupe, écharpe ou camail, bonnet en forme de calotte et, pour Vāsudeva, une roue crantée[3]. Il ne paraît pas excessif d'en tirer les conclusions suivantes.

a) L'iconographie de Balarāma et Kṛṣṇa, telle que la font connaître les drachmes d'Agathocle frappées à Taxila selon P. BERNARD (1974: 26–30), était familière aux populations du Nord-Ouest, ce qui suppose l'existence de statues de cultes ou de panneaux peints dans cette région dès le IIème siècle avant n.è.[4].

2 Sur cette iconographie, voir SRINIVASAN 1979 et 1981 et HÄRTEL 1980. La coiffure du Vāsudeva de Chilas II pourrait cependant être la même que celle représentée dans SRINIVASAN 1979: 40, fig. 1 = HÄRTEL 1980: 105 fig. 42.

3 On trouvera une étude très complète de ces représentations dans FILLIOZAT 1973 et BERNARD 1974. En ce qui concerne Mathurā, BERNARD 74 est à corriger par FILLIOZAT 1980: 156–158 (résumé dans FILLIOZAT 1981: 111–112) et FUSSMAN 1985: 645. La roue crantée se voit encore sur le Viṣṇu de bronze du Musée de Berlin (provenant du Swāt et datant du VIIè siècle selon HÄRTEL 1980: 95–97 fig. 35 et 113–114 note 2; provenant du Gandhāra et datant du VIè siècle selon – entre autres – PAL 1975: 64–65).

4 Sur les monnaies d'Agathocle figure au-dessus de la tête des personnages une ombelle striée que FILLIOZAT 1973: 114 décrit comme un parasol (*chattra-*) et où BERNARD 1974: 9 veut voir le cimier du casque, vu de face et supposé de profil. Si les graffiti de Chilas II évoquent, comme je le pense, des représentations stéréotypées, l'absence de l'ombelle donne raison à M. FILLIOZAT: il s'agit d'un ornement ne faisant pas partie des signes caractéristiques (*lakṣaṇa-*) de la figuration traditionnelle, donc plutôt un parasol qu'un cimier. Il est vrai que sur les drachmes d'Agathocle l'ombelle est liée au casque, d'où l'apparence de cimier. Mais il est fort possible qu'il s'agit d'un maladresse du graveur analysant incorrectement les éléments de la représentation indienne (ancienne: IIème siècle avant n.è.!) qu'il devait reproduire sur le coin. On notera de même qu'à droite du cimier ou parasol protégeant Vāsudeva/Kṛṣṇa se voit une ondulation horizontale, tantôt touchant le bord du cimier/parasol (BERNARD 1974: Pl. I, 3, 4, 5, 6), tantôt flottant détachée (BERNARD 1974: 13, fig. 5,

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b) Il s'agit d'un culte bien implanté dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde: l'iconographie est typique de cette région et l'auteur, ou les auteurs, de **1**, 2 et **1**, 3 – qui écrit en kharoṣṭhī, écriture utilisée dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde uniquement – est fort probablement l'auteur, ou les auteurs, des représentations de Balarāma et Kr̥ṣṇa gravées au-dessous de ces graffiti.

c) L'un de ces noms, *Rama[kri]ṣa* < *Rāma-kr̥ṣṇa-*, dont la lecture est assurée, par sa structure[5] et surtout par son lien probable avec les représentations de Balarāma et Kr̥ṣṇa gravées au-dessous, permet d'assurer que dès le premier siècle de n.è. l'identification de Vāsudeva, Kr̥ṣṇa et de Rāma était faite, en d'autres termes que le culte des héros des Vr̥ṣṇi et la doctrine des *avatāra-* se rejoignaient déjà, beaucoup plus tôt que généralement admis[6].

d) La différence de taille entre Balarāma et Kr̥ṣṇa est voulue: Balarāma est plus grand parce qu'il est l'aîné des deux frères (SRINIVASAN 1981: 131).

1, 4 est gravé bien en-dessous de la représentation de Kr̥ṣṇa, à hauteur de la tête du cavalier debout grossièrement figuré au bas de la paroi. Je ne l'avais pas vu sur place et A.H. DANI ne l'a pas

Pl. I, 1, 2). Il est peu probable qu'il s'agisse d'un des nombreux serpents tués par Kr̥ṣṇa (Aghāsura, Kāliya, etc.) ou par la monture (*vāhana-*) de Viṣṇu, je veux dire Garuḍa. On peut donc penser qu'il s'agit des rubans normalement attachés au parasol, maladroitement représentés sur l'image indienne dont le graveur des coins s'inspirait, et dont celui-ci n'aurait compris ni la nature ni la fonction. De même l'étrange objet que les deux divinités portent attachés à la ceinture, sur leur hanche gauche, où FILLIOZAT 1973: 114 voit une jambe de force et BERNARD 1974: 9–10 un fourreau d'épée, semble être un attribut incompris (ce qu'implique l'hypothèse de M. FILLIOZAT): l'épée semble en tout cas exclue puisqu'elle n'est un attribut ni de Balarāma ni de Kr̥ṣṇa, que sur les drachmes d'Agathocle elle paraît bien n'avoir pas de poignée et que dans plusieurs cas elle semble bien passer dans le dos (BERNARD 1974: Pl. I, 2, 3, 5).

5 Encore faut-il être prudent sur ce point: il peut s'agir d'un nom doublement théophore, type *Rudra-soma* ou *Hari-Viṣṇu*, ou d'une combinaison familiale (grand-père **Rāma-nātha-*, père **Nātha-kr̥ṣṇa-*, fils *Rāma-kr̥ṣṇa-* (HILKA 1910: 74–75, EMENEAU 1978: 115).

6 Sur ce difficile problème, voir HÄRTEL 1980 et SRINIVASAN 1979.

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remarqué. J'en ai seulement vu la trace en examinant de près mes photos. Il s'agit d'un graffito brāhmī en tout petits caractères. Il faudrait un échafaudage pour pouvoir l'examiner de près et le déchiffrer.

Sous 1, 1 on distingue de faibles traces qui pourraient être celles d'une ligne kharoṣṭhī presqu'entièrement effacée.

2 Paroi de marmite non accessible, orientée Sud-Sud-Est. A droite, colonne et *stūpa* entourés d'inscriptions (DANI 1983: 117 n° 94); à gauche, *stūpa* vers lequel arrivent des cavaliers et une inscription illisible (DANI 1983: 117, n° 93).
DANI 1983: 117–120 (n° 93 et n° 94). JETTMAR 1980 a: couverture. JETTMAR 1985: photo 2, Tafel 9.
2, 1 Tout en haut, au-dessus de la colonne. Semble complet bien que la pierre soit brisée en cet endroit. *Pl. 5, 6*
Rahulasa, «de Rāhula».
Même lecture et même interprétation dans DANI 1983: 118.
Début du premier siècle de n.è. à cause de la forme du *sa*.
Les graffiti suivants se trouvent à droite du *stūpa*.
2, 2 *Vidia*, «Vidita». *Pl. 5–7*
2, 3 a *Mijuprieṇa* *Pl. 5–7*
b X X *dikṣiṇa thubo likhi⟨to⟩*
c *Rahuleṇa Kaṇeṇa ca*
d *aoḍito ⟨thu⟩bu*, «Par Mañjupriya le [XX]*dikṣi* le *stūpa* a été dessiné; par Rāhula et Karṇa a été approché (*āvartitaḥ*) ⟨ce *stū⟩pa*» ou, de façon moins littérale, «Mañjupriya a dessiné le *stūpa*, Rāhula et Karṇa l'ont (ou l'avaient) approché».
2, 4 Quatre signes kharoṣṭhī entre 2, 3a et 2, 3b. Le dernier de ces signes est un *tha* ou un *mi*. *Pl. 5–7*
2, 5 Quatre signes brāhmī légèrement à gauche et au-dessous de 2, 3d. *Pl. 5–7*
Sarvatāta, «Sarvaṭāta». Vème siècle de n.è. (?). Apparemment lu *Vasudatena* par DANI 1983: 120. Forme hybride correspondant à *Śarva-trāta-* «protégé par Śiva» ??
2, 6 A gauche de l'escalier du *stūpa*: X *sani* X. Ce graffito intraduisible, sans doute un nom propre, est important parce qu'il comporte un *sa* à boucle demi-fermée recouvert par l'escalier du *Pl. 5–8*

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stūpa: celui-ci date donc du début de n.è., ce que confirment **2**, 1 et **2**, 3.

Pl. 5, 6 **2**, 7 Cinq signes brāhmī à gauche de la colonne.
Vasudattena, «par Vāsudatta». Correctement lu (sauf la géminée) par DANI 1983: 120.
Vème siècle de n.è. ?

Pl. 5, 6, 8 **2**, 8 Une ligne kharoṣṭhī sous **2**, 6, à gauche de l'escalier du *stūpa*, au-dessus du bœuf à bosse.
Budhauteṇa drubilaeṇa, «par Buddhagupta, par Drubilaka».

Pl. 5, 6, 8 **2**, 9 Cinq signes kharoṣṭhī sous **2**, 8.
Vaṃkaaeṇa, «par Vāṃkātaka».

Pl. 9 **2**, 10 Six lignes kharoṣṭhī illisibles à droite du *stūpa* de gauche.

Commentaire. La chronologie relative des inscriptions et des dessins se laisse facilement établir en ce qui concerne **2**, 1–9. **2**, 10 est trop effacé pour qu'on puisse en dire quoi que ce soit.

La première inscription à avoir été gravée, entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è., est **2**, 6. Sur la paroi qui n'était couverte d'aucun autre graffito ont alors été dessinés la colonne, le *stūpa*, le brûle-parfum qui se trouve à droite de l'escalier, deux cavaliers, un bœuf à bosse, un cheval et ce qui semble être un âne. Le tout représente manifestement, comme en **2**, 10, des cavaliers-éleveurs venant rendre hommage à un *stūpa*. Autour de cet ensemble ont été gravées les inscriptions **2**, 1, **2**, 3, **2**, 8 et **2**, 9, qui ont le même ductus, sont contemporaines et datent du début de n.è. (à cinquante ans près). Elles indiquent que Rāhula a «donné» le *stūpa* et la colonne, c'est-à-dire qu'il a payé l'artiste et peut-être les frais de la cérémonie d'inauguration (*pratiṣṭhā-*) (**2**, 1); que le graveur était Mijupria (**2**, 3ab); que Rāhula, Karṇa, Buddhagupta, Drubilaka et Vāṅkātaka ont «approché» le *stūpa*. La traduction de **2**, 4 n'est pas assurée. Elle est fonction d'une correction imposée par le parallèle de **5**, 1 et une étymologie plausible mais non assurée de *aoḍito* < *āvartitaḥ*. Le seul sens qui pourrait ici convenir est «a été approché au cours d'un voyage» (sanskrit bouddhique *āvartana-*), à l'extrême rigueur «a été contourné par le rite de la *pradakṣiṇā-*» (pāli ²*āvaṭṭa-*). Il est impossible de dire si le *stūpa* qui a été *āvartitaḥ* est celui dessiné sur la paroi ou si, comme il paraît plus probable, il s'agit d'un ex-voto de voyageurs commémorant leur visite à un *stūpa* construit soit à Chilas, soit dans le Swāt, soit dans la plaine indienne.

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Quelques années plus tard, deux personnes voulurent s'associer aux mérites résultant de cette pieuse action en insérant leur nom (2, 2 et 2, 4) dans 2, 3. 2, 5 et 2, 7 répètent la même opération, mais à quatre siècles de distance.
L'onomastique est intéressante. Rāhula, nom qui reparaît en 7 et en 8, est bouddhique comme Mijupria < *Mañju⟨śrī⟩-priya-*[7]. La séquence XX*dikṣi-ṇa* indiquait le métier ou l'origine de ce Mijupria. Des autres noms, seul Budhauta < *Buddha-gupta-*, «protégé par le Buddha» est sûrement bouddhique. Kaṇa < *Karṇa* n'est pas marqué religieusement. Drubila paraît être un bon nom indien, type *Drumila-*. Phonétiquement une étymologie < *Drāviḍaka-*, «le méridional», avec labialisation du *ā*, est tout à fait possible; elle n'est pas démontrable. Vaṃkaaa- < *Vāṅkātaka-*; le mot semble devoir être rapproché d'un toponyme et d'un ethnonyme du Cachemire: moderne Vāṅgath, sanskrit *Vaṅkāla-* (STEIN 1900: index). Vāsudatta est probablement un nom viṣṇuite et Sarvaṭāta un nom śivaïte si l'on admet mon étymologie mi-sanskrite (conservation de *-rv-*) mi-prakrite (*ś* > *s*; *tr- ṭ*) < *Śarva-trāta-*. L'onomastique est donc purement indienne, la syntaxe l'est aussi. On peut en déduire que la paroi a été décorée par des gens venus du Nord-Ouest (Taxila, Peshawar ou le Swāt) et que le *stūpa* représenté est un des *stūpa* fameux de cette région. Trois monuments importants au moins y ont cette forme dite «ancienne» ou «aśokéenne»: le Dharmarājika de Taxila, le *stūpa* de Māṇikiāla et le grand *stūpa* de Butkara, lui aussi dit Dharmarājika.

3 Paroi de marmite. A droite scène anépigraphe (deux *stūpa* vers lesquels se dirigent deux guerriers menant quatre chevaux); à gauche, personnage (?) assis et inscriptions kharoṣṭhī.
DANI 1983: 68, 113 n° 89 et 114. JETTMAR 1980 c: 214 fig. 2 (dessin, sans les inscriptions); JETTMAR 1985: Photo 17, Tafel 12.
3, 1 *Vhamovasa Baisahava*[, «de Vhamova, Baisahava». *Pl. 10, 11*
Postérieur à Kaniṣka.
3, 2 a *MijaraXka* *Pl. 10, 11*
b tamga? *Odivasa*, «de MijaraXka Odiva».
Postérieur à Kaniṣka.

7 Voir BROUGH 1962: 84 § 26 avec référence à deux objets d'argent de Sirkap (début du Ier siècle de n.è.) appartenant à **Manju-kīrti*.

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Pl. 10, 12 3, 3 a *Hariti*
b *Praṭhakasa*

Environ 50 avant n.è.—50 après n.è. Pour la traduction de 3, 3, voir ci-après.

Commentaire: La date est assurée par les formes du *sa* (*supra*, p. 2). On ajoutera seulement qu'en 3,1—2 le *sa* à boucle entièrement ouverte est encore de forme assez anguleuse; on placera donc la date de ces graffiti entre 70 et 200 de n.è. environ.

Il est assez aisé de distinguer les uns des autres les graffiti de la face 3. Ils présentent un ductus différent, divers types de *sa* et ne sont pas tous gravés avec le même soin. La transcription de 3, 1 ne pose guère de problèmes: la forme contournée du *mo* est plus apparente sur les photos que sur la pierre. Il s'agit probablement de noms propres. La coupe après *Vhamovasa* est clairement indiquée par un espace laissé anépigraphe sur le rocher; pour les *akṣara* suivant, on peut hésiter. On peut donc couper *Vhamova-sa Bai-sa Hava*[ou *Vhamova-sa Baisahava*]. Ces noms ne se laissent pas interpréter.

L'écriture de 3, 2 est plus tremblée, mais à part le premier signe de 3, 2b qui semble être un symbole ou un monogramme (*tamga*, pour reprendre un terme turc familier aux numismates spécialistes de cette région), ce qui se voit se laisse assez bien déchiffrer. Il s'agit là aussi de noms propres sans étymologie apparente. Il est en tout cas impossible que 3, 1—2 fasse référence au souverain kouchan Vajheṣka comme le voudrait DANI 1983: 114.

3, 3 a été correctement lu par DANI, mais mal traduit: «establishment of Hariti», ce qui supposerait *pra⟨ti⟩ṭha-*. Il faut se souvenir que le signe kharoṣṭhī conventionnellement transcrit *ṭha* est susceptible d'interprétations multiples. Souvent il correspond à sanskrit *sta/stha* (BROUGH 1962: 76—77, § 18a et 18b et p. 219). Dans ce cas *praṭhakasa* < sanskrit **prasthaka-sya*, «en voyage» (voir 9, 4) et *Hariti* doit être la première partie d'un nom propre abrégé type *Hārītī-datta-* ou *Hārītī-rakṣita-*[8]. La marque de génitif, comme il est fréquent, figurerait seulement à la fin du syntagme[9]. Mais *praṣṭha-* existe aussi et est attesté avec le sens de

8 Sur les noms propres abrégés, voir HILKA 1910: 59—61 et EMENEAU 1978: 118. Exemples de noms propres abrégés dans cette même région: FUSSMAN 1978: index 62.

9 Des faits de ce type sont bien attestés en moyen indien: FUSSMAN 1980a:

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«chef». On pourrait donc traduire «du chef Hārītī⟨datta⟩». Cependant, comme *praṭhakasa* réapparaît seul en **12**, 8, une troisième possibilité se présente: lire *Hariti-praṭhaka-*, «de Hārītī-praṣṭhaka- (celui qui place en premier lieu Hārītī)» et faire de *praṭhakasa* en **12**, 8 la forme abrégée de ce nom. En tout cas, quelle que soit l'interprétation adoptée, **3**, 3 ne permet pas d'identifier les deux curieuses représentations entre lesquelles l'inscription est insérée: un nom en *Hārītī°* nous renseigne seulement sur les préférences religieuses des parents ou sur les circonstances difficiles de la naissance de celui qui le porte; il ne nous dit rien des divinités favorites de celui-ci (voir en **4**, 1 le cas de Śivadāsa). Mais **3**, 3 permet de dater ces représentations dans *leur état actuel*, car la disposition décalée de **3**, 3 b par rapport à **3**, 3 a suppose que les représentations, telles que nous les voyons aujourd'hui[10] préexistaient à l'inscription.

Les deux inscriptions suivantes sont très effacées. Je ne les ai vues que sur deux très bonnes photographies envoyées par le Dr. THEWALT.

3, 4 Vers le haut de la niche **3**, au-dessus et à gauche de **3**, 3, à droite de la *harmikā-* d'un assez grand *stūpa*, deux lignes kharoṣṭhī. Cliché THEWALT 501/153 A.

XXX *sa thubu*

XXXXXXX, «le *stūpa* de ...»

Le *sa* à boucle ouverte, mais de forme encore anguleuse, permet de dater ce texte, et le *stūpa* qu'il accompagne, des II–IIIe siecles de n.è.

3, 5 Même paroi, même hauteur, à gauche de la *harmikā-* d'un *stūpa* plus petit, assez sommairement dessiné. Cliché THEWALT T83N14/16-25-. Quatre *akṣara* kharoṣṭhī dont seul le dernier est lisible:

XXX *sa*.

12 note 4; FUSSMAN 1982: 10–11. En pāli, le phénomène apparaît fréquemment dans le couple nom propre + titre: voir la liste des noms figurant dans le *Thūpavaṃsa* (édition N.A. JAYAWICKRAMA, London, 1971) chap. 13: 223–224. Phénomène analogue dans les colophons des manuscrits de Gilgit: HINÜBER 1980: 50.

10 On sait que le Prof. K. JETTMAR considère qu'il s'agit à l'origine de la représentation d'un *stūpa* et d'une colonne bouddhiques, postérieurement modifiée.

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Ce *sa* à boucle ouverte et de forme cursive permet de dire que 3, 5, et le *stūpa* qu'il accompagne, sont postérieurs à 150 de n.è.

4 Sur un rocher situé entre la rive du fleuve et 3.

Pl. 13 4, 1 DANI 1983: 109 n° 86 et 112 (i).

Śivadasasa, «de Śivadāsa».

Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è.

Les noms śivaïtes sont maintenant bien attestés dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et particulièrement en contexte bouddhique: de nombreuses dédicaces ont pour auteur un personnage dont le nom signifie «esclave de Śiva» (Śiva-dāsa-) ou «protégé par Śiva» (*Śiva-rakṣita-*). Ce graffito de Chilas II attestant qu'un «esclave de Śiva» a dessiné un *stūpa* sur ce même rocher n'a donc rien d'exceptionnel. On peut citer comme parallèle un Śivarakṣita non nécessairement bouddhiste à Shahdaur, au début de n.è. (KONOW 1929: 17 l. 2), un autre, déposant des reliques du Buddha à Bīmarān vers la même époque (KONOW 1929: 52; BROUGH 1962: 95); un troisième, donateur d'un relief bouddhique d'époque kouchane (FUSSMAN 1980 b: 55); un quatrième enfin, donateur d'un petit *stūpa* de pierre vers la fin du Ier siècle de n.è. (SHERRIER 1984: 254; le nom est écrit *śiva-rakṣidaka-*). Un autre *Śiva-rakṣita-* est attesté à Taxila vers la même époque, mais le sceau qu'il nous a laissé est orné d'une image de Śiva debout et rien n'indique que ce personnage ait été jamais un dévôt du Buddha.

Ces témoignages individuels traduisent sans doute un phénomène plus large. Il semble bien que dès cette époque, dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, śivaïsme et bouddhisme aient fait bon ménage. Ainsi en 520 de n.è. le pélerin chinois Sun Yün vit à la limite du Swāt et du Gandhāra un grand monastère placé sous la protection de Śiva: "There is a huge monastery with 200 monks as well as one to the north of the spring from which the crown prince drank. Several donkeys carry grain regularly up the mountain; they come and go by themselves without any one to drive them. They set out at dawn and arrive at noon, in time for the midday meal. They do this in obedience to Śiva, the guardian deity of the monastery" (JENNER 1981: 264–265). Lorsque les bouddhistes népalais installent des images de Mahākāla dans leur monastères, lorsqu'ils placent ceux-ci sous la protection d'un Bhairava installé

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dans une niche de l'entrée, ils n'innovent donc pas. De même ainsi s'explique, très probablement, la présence d'une statue de *Mahiṣāsuramardinī* dans le monastère de Tapa Sardar (Ghazni) au VIIIème siècle de n.è. (TADDEI 1973). Les inscriptions kharoṣṭhī que j'ai mentionnées à la page précédente prouvent que ces relations privilégiées entre śivaïsme et bouddhisme (car on ne saurait parler de syncrétisme, tout au plus s'agit-il de symbiose) remontent très loin dans le temps: les premiers témoignages certains datent des alentours de notre ère.

4, 2 A droite de 4, 1. *Pl. 14*

DANI 1983: 111 nº 88 et 112 (ii, nº 87).

Budhavasasa, «de Buddhavasa».

Début de l'époque kouchane.

Ce nom indéniablement bouddhique est susceptible de multiples interprétations (°*vasa-*, °*vāsa-*, °*vatsa-*) dont aucune n'est vraiment satisfaisante. On est tenté de corriger en *Buddha-va⟨ṃ⟩sa-*, nom attesté à Alam Bridge 6, 9 (FUSSMAN 1978: 24). Il n'est pas non plus impossible qu'on ait ici un *Buddha-dāsa-*, traité comme un nom simple > **Budhaasa* et écrit ainsi (car cette lecture est possible) ou écrit *Budhavasa* par contrépel (voir BROUGH 1962: 87–92 pour une explication de ce phénomène, non encore attesté en ce qui concerne l'alternance *d/v*, mais phonétiquement plausible).

5 Au-dessous et à droite de 4, 2.

DANI 1983: 111 nº 87 et 112 (iii, nº 88).

Inscription *kharoṣṭhī* de cinq lignes inscrite à droite d'un *stūpa*.

5, 1 a *S[i]habaṇa ca thubu* *Pl. 15*

b *ḍekavatrai-*

c *-deṇa ya ao-*

d *-ḍito thu-*

e *-bu*, «Et par Siṃhaba le *stūpa* ⟨a été approché⟩ et par Ḍekavatraida a été approché le *stūpa*», ou, moins littéralement: «Siṃhaba et Ḍekavatraida sont venus près du *stūpa*».

Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è.

Commentaire. La lecture de ce texte est à peu près assurée. On peut toutefois hésiter en a entre *Sahaba* et *S[i]haba*; en b entre *ḍeka* et *reka* ainsi qu'entre *vatrai* et *ṭhatrai*; en c entre *deṇa ya* et *deṇa śa*, mais la syntaxe impose d'y lire *ya* < *ca*. La construction

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est simple et confirmée par **2**, 3: deux fois un instrumental sujet, *thubo/u* au nominatif et l'adjectif verbal *aoḍito*, sous-entendu en a, présent en c–d. *Aoḍito* a été commenté *supra*, p. 8. L'onomastique pose par contre des problèmes difficiles. En a, faut-il corriger et lire *S[i]hab⟨e⟩ṇa* ou *S[i]haba⟨le⟩ṇa* < *Siṃha-bala-*, «qui a la force du lion»? Faut-il considérer qu'il s'agit d'un nom *S[i]haba-* d'étymologie incertaine où la non-notation du *e* résulte d'un phénomène bien attesté de palatalisation automatique (BROUGH 1962: 81–82. Autres exemples FUSSMAN 1969: 6, FUSSMAN 1970: 53 note 1, FUSSMAN 1980 a: 11–12, FUSSMAN 1982: 40)? Quant au deuxième nom, je ne me hasarderai pas à chercher à l'expliquer.

Il s'agit manifestement d'un seul texte et le linguiste notera avec intérêt que si **2**, 3 d et **5**, 1 c–d ont tous deux *aoḍito*, son sujet s'écrit tantôt *thubo*, tantôt *thubu*, ce qui implique une équivalence *-o/-u* en finale, facilement explicable après une séquence *-ub-*, mais bien attestée par ailleurs (FUSSMAN 1982: 40–41). De même, si mon analyse est exacte, le même mot s'écrit *ca* en **5**, 1 a, *ya* en **5**, 1 c (prononciation réelle: *ya* ou *'a*, BROUGH 1962: 86 § 32). Le spécialiste de paléographie apprendra qu'il lui faut se méfier des faux indices: il n'y a aucune conclusion à tirer du fait que le signe *thu* en **5**, 1 a a un tracé très différent de celui qu'on lui voit en **5**, 1 d (voir à ce sujet FUSSMAN 1980 a: 7).

6 Paroi de marmite faisant face au Nord.

DANI 1983: 105 n° 82 et 108. JETTMAR 1980 a: Tafel 5,2. JETTMAR 1980 b: Tafel 1 (entre 206 et 207). JETTMAR 1982 a: Tafel 5,2. JETTMAR 1982 b: 185. JETTMAR 1983: 25 (milieu). JETTMAR 1985: Tafel 11, Photo 16.

Pl. 16 6, 1 a *Budharakṣitasa*

b X*dapa*XXX, «de Buddharakṣita (protégé par le Buddha)...».

Entre 50 avant et 50 après de n.è.

Je me suis abstenu de transcrire la majeure part des *akṣara* de la ligne b: plusieurs transcriptions sont possibles et aucune de celles que j'ai tentées ne donne un sens satisfaisant. La lecture et la traduction proposées par DANI 1983: 108 (*Budharakṣitasa dana praṭhakasa*, «Establishment of a donation, of Buddharakṣita») me paraissent ne correspondre ni à ce que porte la pierre, ni aux constructions syntaxiques du moyen-indien, ni à la phraséologie

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des dédicaces bouddhiques. On notera que le *stūpa* ici représenté est certainement le même que celui figuré en **2**.

7 Partie Sud-Ouest (aval) d'une énorme paroi de marmite.
DANI 1983: 101 n° 79; 103 n° 81; 104 (xi n° 80); 106 (xii et xiii).

7, 1 En haut, à droite d'une esquisse de Buddha assis. *Rahulasa* (?), «de Rāhula». *Pl. 17*

Le texte est trop peu sûr pour être daté. Sous ce même Buddha assis, DANI (104 n° 81 et 106, xiii) lit *Budhaotasa*. Il y a effectivement quelques signes; je ne puis les lire. Je ne crois pas à la lecture *Budhaotasa*, mais si d'aventure elle était exacte, il faudrait traduire «de Buddhagupta».

7, 2 A droite d'un personnage masculin nu, au sexe (ou *dhotī* ?) pendant, brandissant une (lance?) de la droite mi-tendue. *Pl. 18*
Ghoṣami[*tra*]*sa*, «de Ghoṣamitra-».

7, 3 Au-dessus du personnage précédent (JETTMAR 1982 a: photo 5 du cahier noir et blanc). *Pl. 18*
Valadebo, «Baladeva».

7, 4 A gauche du même personnage. *Pl. 18*
Rahulasa, «de Rāhula».

7, 5 Plus à gauche, au-dessus d'un personnage nu. *Pl. 18*
Rahulasa, «de Rāhula».

7, 6 Légèrement à gauche de la précédente, un peu plus bas. *Pl. 18*
Vasu[*de*]*vo*, «Vāsudeva».

Entre 50 avant et 50 après notre ère.

Commentaire. La lecture de **7**, 2–6 est certaine, sauf pour le troisième signe de **7**, 6 que mon relevé note comme *de* et que les photos inciteraient à transcrire *do* ou *tro*. DANI a donné de ces textes une interprétation correcte: un nom propre presque effacé (**7**, 2); deux labels au nominatif identifiant des représentations de Baladeva/Balarāma et Vāsudeva/Kr̥ṣṇa (**7**, 3 et 6); deux génitifs (**7**, 4 et 5). Logiquement ces génitifs devraient désigner le donateur des dessins. Mais le nom de Rāhula reparaît très souvent dans les inscriptions de Chilas II avec un *hu* de forme inusuelle certifiant qu'il s'agit toujours du même personnage. Il est donc possible que Rāhula ait ajouté son nom à des représentations préexistantes, qui seraient alors nécessairement antérieures à 50 de n.è.

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Comme en **1**, Baladeva, l'aîné des deux frères, est plus grand que Vāsudeva. Pour le reste, les deux séries de représentations n'offrent guère de points communs. En **7**, les dessins sont beaucoup plus grossiers; les divinités sont représentées nues, apparemment sans même un *dhotī* (à moins que ce ne soit le pan retombant d'un *dhotī* que l'on voie entre les jambes de Baladeva); Vāsudeva ne porte aucun attribut qui permette de l'identifier[11]. Baladeva porte dans sa main droite un curieux appendice que A.H. DANI (106, xii) décrit comme une araire. Qu'y voir d'autre en effet, mais je doute que sans le label *Valadebo* on ait songé à y voir une araire que Balarāma porte toujours dans l'autre sens (coutre vers le haut) et dont la flèche ne se transforme jamais en lance.
Ghoṣamitra- est un beau nom indien, non marqué religieusement. Plusieurs bouddhistes connus s'appelaient néanmoins Ghoṣaka (MALALASEKERA 1937: I, 828–829).
Juste devant (en aval de) **7**, dans le creux de la marmite, un rocher rond porte des dessins de bouquetins et un *stūpa* dont la forme ressemble à celle d'une lanterne. Ce rocher portait une inscription dont seul subsiste un *sa* kharoṣṭhī à boucle entièrement ouverte. Aucun numéro n'a été affecté à ce graffito inutilisable.

8 Même paroi de marmite. Portion située entre une grande fissure (à gauche d'un éléphant) et un homme de grande taille, debout.
DANI 1983: 101 n° 80 et 104 (xi, n° 79) JETTMAR 1980 b: Tafel 5, 1. JETTMAR 1982 a: Tafel 5, 1. JETTMAR 1985: dernière page de la couverture.

Pl. 19 **8**, 1 *Samudrasa*, «de Samudra».
Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è. Voir **1**, 1 et **9**, 2.

Pl. 19 **8**, 2 *Śamasa Xmasa*, «de Śama [X]ma».
Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è.
DANI 1983: 104 lit *Śama⟨ṇa⟩sa Gomasa*, «du moine Goma». Je ne vois pas le *go* et sanskrit *śra-* > gāndhārī *ṣa*. Le premier mot, en réalité, doit correspondre à sanskrit *śyāma-*, «le noiraud»; bien attesté comme nom propre. Le second nom est susceptible de multiples interprétations.

11 Je ne vois pas le disque (*cakra-*) que lui attribue DANI: 106 xii.

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8, 3 Sous le cavalier. *Pl. 19*
Rahulasa, «de Rāhula».
Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è. Même graphie caractéristique qu'en **2** et **7**.
8, 4 Sous **8**, 2. *Pl. 19*
Budhaotasa, «de Buddhagupta (protégé par le Buddha)».
Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è. Rien ne permet de dire qu'il s'agisse du même personnage qu'en **2**, 8 *Budhauteṇa*; mais ce n'est pas impossible malgré la différence de graphie.
8, 5 Sous **8**, 3. *Pl. 19*
Mui, «de Mui[».
DANI p. 104 lit *Muilasa*. Il s'agit probablement d'un nom en *Muci*[, type *Muci-*, *Mucira-*, *Mucilinda-*, etc.
8, 6 A gauche de **8**, 5. *Pl. 19*
Viṇa[
DANI p. 104 lit *Ranaka⟨sa⟩* et en fait la suite de **8**, 5.

9 Même paroi de marmite. Portion située à gauche (en amont) de la précédente, reconnaissable à un dessin d'homme de grande taille et à une représentation de cavalier debout sur sa monture.
DANI 1983: 99 n° 78 et 100–102 (vii n° 78). JETTMAR 1982 a: cahier noir et blanc, photo 4.
9, 1 *Kaḍao* *Pl. 20*
9, 2 A gauche de **9**, 1. *Pl. 20*
Samudrasa, «de Samudra». Voir **1**, 1 et **8**, 1.
9, 3 Au-dessous de **9**, 2. *Pl. 20*
Kakasa, «de Kaka».
9, 4 A gauche de **9**, 3, mais d'une autre main. *Pl. 20*
praṭhitasa, «de celui qui est en voyage (*prasthita-*). Voir **3**, 3 b et **12**, 8.
Il serait plus satisfaisant de lire **9**, 3 et 4 ensemble (comme **3**, 3), mais la différence de ductus est si considérable qu'elle semble interdire de considérer que ces deux graffiti sont d'une seule main. Par ailleurs il n'est pas exclu qu'il faille lire *Praṭh(a)tasa*, équivalent du *Praṭhakasa* de **3**, 3 b et **12**, 8.
9, 5 Au-dessous de **9**, 3. *Pl. 20*
Samudraseṇasa, «de Samudrasena» (dont l'armée ⟨est grande comme⟩ l'Océan, s'il faut à tout prix traduire; en réalité nom *kṣatriya-* dont le dernier élément ne doit pas se traduire).

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Pl. 20 **9**, 6 Au-dessous de **9**, 5.
Ghoṣamitrasa, «de Ghoṣamitra». Voir **7**, 2 (*supra*, p. 15).

Pl. 20 **9**, 7 Loin à gauche de **9**, 6.
Maṇasa, «de Maṇa». A la rigueur on pourrait lire *moṇasa*. DANI 1983: 102 lit *Mogasa*, «de Mauès».

Pl. 20 **9**, 8 Au-dessous de **9**, 6, difficilement discernable.
*Ma*XX*kasa*, «de Ma[XX]ka». Le deuxième *akṣara* peut être *ta*, *da* ou *ra*; voir **12**, 11. *Mahatakasa* que propose DANI 1983: 102 semble impossible.

Pl. 20 **9**, 9 Au-dessous de **9**, 8.
XX*śaka ṭhavadi*[*sa*], «de XX śaka l'architecte».
Le dernier signe, transcrit entre crochets car de lecture incertaine, semble d'abord devoir être lu *rva*. Un examen plus attentif semble indiquer qu'il s'agit d'un *sa* partiellement recouvert par l'extrêmité de la corne d'un ibex. *Ṭhavadisa* paraît être le génitif moyen-indien de *sthāpati-*; voir **3**, 3 b (*supra*, p. 10).
DANI 1983: 101–102 fait de **9** un texte unique qu'il attribue à un satrape (en rajoutant ce mot) de Mauès (le pseudo *Moga* de **9**, 7). En réalité, il s'agit d'une liste de noms au génitif. Quatre (**9**, 2–3–5–6) et peut-être six (en y joignant **9**, 8–9) semblent être de la même main et avoir été gravés par le même personnage qui aurait inscrit son nom et celui de ses compagnons en cet endroit. Le *sa* à boucle demi-fermée permet de dater tous ces graffiti de 50 avant–50 après n.è. L'onomastique est purement indienne, même Kaka, sanskrit *Kāka-* ou *Kakka-* attesté au Cachemire (STEIN 1900: index) et à Gilgit (HINÜBER 1980: 73; il s'agirait d'une formation faite sur le terme de parenté bien connu *kāka* «oncle paternel»: EMENEAU 1978: 122, note 15). La conservation des *-r-* postconsonantiques permet même de préciser qu'il s'agit de noms du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde.

10 Extrêmité gauche (amont) de la même marmite. Dessins d'animaux et *stūpa* de type tibétain surmonté du croissant de la lune et du soleil, avec un soleil à gauche.
DANI 1983: 97 n° 76 et 100, iv.
Une seule inscription de cinq lignes sur le côté droit du *stūpa*.

Pl. 21 **10**, 1 a *sagha*[XX*sa*] *thubu*
b *dha*[X*pa*X]

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c *paXrasa*
d XXX*ṇa*
e XXX*sa*, «don de Saṃgha[XX], le *stūpa* . . .».

Il serait sans doute plus sage de ne pas transcrire ce texte dont la lecture relève plus de l'acte de foi (*wishful thinking*) que de la paléographie. La meilleure preuve en est que DANI et moi ne nous accordons même pas sur le nombre des lignes. Le déchiffrement de **10**, 1 a peut cependant être tenté. Le premier mot semble être le nom bouddhique d'un personnage («⟨protecteur, protégé, etc.⟩ de la Communauté»). On peut aller plus loin et proposer, en fonction de ce qu'on voit sur la pierre *Saṃgha*[*bala*]- («force (*bala*-)» ou «protecteur (*pāla*-) de la Communauté») ou *Saṃgha*[*dana*]- («don de/à la Communauté»). Quant aux voyelles de *thubu*, je crois les distinguer, mais je n'en suis pas tout à fait sûr.

Le seul intérêt de **10** est en fait de dater le *stūpa* adjacent, plus ancien exemple indien aujourd'hui connu de *stūpa* surmonté d'un croissant de lune et du soleil. Ce type de couronnement était jusqu'à présent attesté au Népal, au Ladakh et au Tibet seulement, et à des dates bien plus tardives. Nous en avons ici le prototype indien que le graffito **10**, 1 permet de dater de la fin du Ier siècle de n.è., ou d'un peu plus tôt. C'est un témoignage important pour l'histoire architecturale du *stūpa* et pour l'étude de son symbolisme cosmologique. On notera que, couronnement excepté, la forme de ce *stūpa* est la même qu'en **2** et **6**. On peut donc se demander s'il s'agit du même monument, dont le couronnement aurait été reconstruit de cette manière et fidèlement reproduit par l'auteur du dessin ou si celui-ci a interprété à sa façon un monument de facture traditionnelle. La présence d'un soleil à gauche du *stūpa* **10** paraît favoriser la deuxième interprétation.

La paroi **10** comportait d'autres inscriptions kharoṣṭhī. On en voit les traces illisibles à gauche du *stūpa*, sous le soleil, et à droite du *stūpa*, au-dessous de celui-ci (on voit un *tra* à droite d'un des «scythian soldiers» de DANI).

11 Rocher situé en avant (en aval) de la marmite **6–10**. Moine debout à gauche d'un *stūpa*.

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DANI 1983: 107 n° 84 et 108–110 (ii). JETTMAR 1985: 17.

Pl. 22 **11**, 1 *Puśieṇa Oṇivasta*[*reṇa*], «par Puśia Oṇivasta[ra].»

C'est également la lecture de DANI, 110. Les deux derniers *akṣara* se laissent deviner plus qu'ils ne laissent lire. Le premier nom semble représenter un **puṣyika-* formé sur la racine *PUṢ*, mais le *i* ne s'explique pas. Le signe de voyelle du premier *akṣara* est si maladroitement tracé que je serais tenté de lire *p(a)śieṇa* < *pāśika-*, «le trappeur», attesté comme nom propre au Cachemire (STEIN 1900: index). Pour le deuxième mot, je ne puis proposer aucune étymologie convaincante, mais plusieurs étymologies indo-aryennes sont possibles.

Aucun indice paléographique ne permet de dater ce texte. Seule sa présence dans un ensemble où la majeure partie des inscriptions datables doivent être attribuées au Ier siècle de notre ère conseille de lui attribuer cette date. Cette incertitude est regrettable car le dessin du *stūpa* enrichit notre connaissance de l'architecture gandharienne. Ce *stūpa* offre une silhouette dont l'exemple bâti le mieux conservé est le *stūpa* de Gul Dara en Afghanistan (FUSSMAN–LE BERRE 1976): il est juché sur une haute base quadrangulaire et la circumambulation rituelle se fait au contact de cette base et du premier tambour circulaire, sur un chemin (*pradakṣiṇā-patha-*) situé au sommet de la base quadrangulaire auquel on accède par un escalier monumental. La fouille du *stūpa* de Gul Dara, pourtant bien conservé, n'avait pas révélé de trace de garde-fou sur le côté extérieur du *pradakṣiṇā-patha*; les représentations figurées de *stūpa* dans l'art du Gandhāra n'en montrent pas non plus. A une exception près, les reliquaires en forme de *stūpa*, dont nous possédons maintenant de nombreux exemplaires, ne comportent pas non plus ce garde-fou. Mais cette exception est importante: il s'agit d'un petit reliquaire de bronze conservé au British Museum, don d'A. CUNNINGHAM et supposé venir de Jauliān (près de Taxila) (ZWALF 1985: 30, fig. 12). Le *stūpa* **11** de Chilas et ce reliquaire en forme de *stūpa* semblent reproduire un même modèle architectural: l'élévation, le plan, les proportions sont les mêmes dans les deux cas; la seule différence est que le reliquaire du British Museum ne comporte pas d'escalier d'accès au *pradakṣiṇā-patha*. La non-représentation de cet escalier est sans doute une facilité que s'est accordée l'auteur du modèle réduit en bronze car la présence du garde-fou garantit que sur le

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monument ainsi imité la circumambulation se faisait au sommet de la base quadrangulaire.

DANI 1983: 107 n° 83 présente un dessin de Martien et de vagues traces qu'il lit *Saka⟨mu⟩nisa*. Je n'arrive à déchiffrer aucun *akṣara*.

12 Paroi de rocher verticale et peu accessible (j'ai dû relever les inscriptions à la jumelle). La paroi est divisée en deux par une fissure.
DANI 1983: 109 n° 85 et 110–112 iii.
12, 1 A droite de la fissure. *Pl. 23*
Budha[*rakṣita*]*sa*, «de Buddharakṣita (protégé par le Buddha)».
Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è.
La transcription des syllabes entre crochets est probable mais non certaine. La photo publiée par DANI p. 109 ne montre pas ce graffito, mais DANI p. 110 iii a le lit correctement. Le même nom (mais pas nécessairement le même personnage) est attesté en **6**, 1 a.

A gauche de la fissure se trouvent les graffiti suivants.
12, 2 XXX*misa saokasa*, «de [XXX]mi Saoka». *Pl. 24*
12, 3 *Kha*[*mo*]*kasa*, «de Khamoka». *Pl. 24*
12, 4 A gauche de **12**, 3. *Pl. 24*
Sidhalakasa edetharadika, «de Siddhalaka . . .».
12, 5 Sous la deuxième partie de **12**, 4. *Pl. 24*
Aharetha, «. . .».
12, 6 Sous le précédent, cinq traits ondulés. *Pl. 24*
12, 7 Fin d'un graffito à droite de **12**, 6. *Pl. 24*
]X*nasa*, «de X]na».
12, 8 *Praṭhakasa*, «de Praṣṭhaka». Voir le commentaire de **3**, 3 b et **9**, 4. *Pl. 24*
12, 9 A droite de **12**, 8 dont le sépare une grande fissure. Ne figure pas sur le cliché reproduit par DANI 1983: 109 n° 85. *Kakasa*, «de Kakka». Voir le commentaire de **9**, 3 p. 18. *Pl. 24*
12, 10 Au-dessous de **12**, 8. *Pl. 24*
Pave[. DANI 1983: 110 d lit *Pharaonasa*.
12, 11 Sous **12**, 9 dont le sépare une grande fissure horizontale. Ne figure pas sur le cliché reproduit par DANI 1983: 109 n° 85. *Madirasa* suivi d'une croix gammée (*svastika*-), «de Madira». Voir **9**, 8. *Pl. 25*

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12, 1–8 ont été gravés entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è.
Commentaire. Les différences de lecture et d'interprétation entre DANI et moi-même sont trop importantes pour que je les commente. Le lecteur choisira. En tout cas, malgré DANI, je puis assurer qu'il n'y a aucune référence à un gouverneur (*kṣatrapa-*) de Mauès nommé Siddhalaka: seul ce dernier nom est lisible. En réalité, sauf **12**, 4–5–6 qui pourraient constituer un seul texte malheureusement incompréhensible, ces graffiti sont indépendants les uns des autres. Ce sont des «signatures» (noms propres au génitif). Certains de ces noms sont attestés en d'autres endroits de Chilas II (**12**, 1; **12**, 8; **12**, 9; **12**, 11 ?). Beaucoup s'interprètent à partir du sanskrit: **12**, 1 Buddha[rakṣita], **12**, 4 Siddhalaka (*siddha-*, «parfait» plus suffixes *la* et *ka*, HILKA 1910: 61 c et 68–69), **12**, 8 Praṣṭhaka et **12**, 9 Kakka. D'autres noms peuvent s'expliquer à partir de l'indo-aryen, mais la preuve manque: **12**, 2 Saoka < **savaka-*?, «presseur» ou «incitateur»; **12**, 3 Kha[mo]ka < *kṣamāvant-*?, «patient» (le mot alors ne serait pas gāndhārī où sanskrit *kṣ* n'aboutit pas à *kh*); **12**, 11 Madira (*madira-*, «enivrant» est attesté en premier terme de composé dans les noms propres). **12**, 4 *edetharadika* et **12**, 5 *aharetha* défient pour l'instant toute analyse. Je ne suis même pas sûr que ce soient des noms propres.

13 Rocher le plus en amont de ce site.
13, 1–3 DANI 1983: 93 n° 72 (à droite); 95 n° 74 et pp. 96–98. JETTMAR 1985: Photo 11 Tafel 8.

Pl. 26, 27 **13**, 1 *Goṇadasa adaputo*, «Goṇadāsa, fils d'Ada». DANI 1983: 98 transcrit *Gopadasa Akṣaputro*.

Pl. 26, 28 **13**, 2 Neuf *akṣara* kharoṣṭhī que je renonce à transcrire. DANI 1983: 98 les transcrit *Gopadasa Balaputra*; seul le *ba* peut être discerné.

Pl. 26, 28 **13**, 3 Brāhmī: *Dhapaḍa*. DANI 1983: 98 lit *Dhamada*.

13, 1 peut être daté de la fin du Ier siècle de n.è., **13**, 3 des V–VIèmes siècles de n.è.
Commentaire. Les reflets du soleil sur la pierre rendent la lecture de ces textes très difficile. Goṇadāsa paraît un beau nom sanskrit, qu'il faudrait traduire «esclave du taureau»; ce ne pourrait guère être qu'un nom śivaïte et *goṇa-* serait le taureau Nandin. Mais Nandin est ordinairement qualifié de *vṛṣan-* et *goṇa-* ne semble pas attesté dans les noms propres. Il est donc peut-être préférable

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de couper *Go-ṇada Saada-puto*, «Gonanda, fils de Saada». Gonanda est en effet un nom bien attesté au Cachemire (STEIN 1900: index). En gāndhārī on attendrait que *Gonanda-* > **gonana-* (BROUGH 1962: 98–99, § 46), mais il y a pu avoir une dissimilation. Dans ce cas le nom du père serait *Saada-* qui n'offre pas plus de prise à l'étymologie que *Ada-*. Il est impossible de dire si *puto* au lieu de *putro* attendu en gāndhārī résulte d'une négligence de gravure ou s'il s'agit d'un fait linguistique trahissant l'origine du rédacteur de ce graffito. Je n'ai pas d'explication à proposer pour Dhapaḍa.

13, 4 DANI 1983: 93 n° 72 (à gauche) et 73; p. 96 (au bas). JETTMAR 1985: Photo 11 Tafel 8 (à gauche) et p. 16.

Sous le premier personnage debout devant le personnage trônant.

13, 4 *śamotha vamasa*. *Pl. 26, 29*

Fin du Ier siècle avant n.è.

L'inscription ne se laisse pas traduire mais il n'est pas possible de lire avec DANI 1983: 96 *Mogarajasa*, «du roi Mauès». En conséquence l'interprétation que DANI donne de cette scène est impossible. DANI 1983: 62 écrit en effet: "... a fat-bellied person ... is captured and is being dragged by the soldiers in Scythian dress and brought to the high person seated on a high backed chair. His name is given as *Moga raja*. There should be no difficulty in identifying this person with the Scythian ruler Maues." Même si la lecture de DANI pouvait être acceptée, son explication comporterait des points faibles: elle ne rendrait pas compte des génitifs (au lieu des nominatifs attendus) ni du fait que 13, 4 est gravé sous un personnage debout, non sous le personnage trônant qu'il est censé identifier.

14 Paroi de rocher.

DANI 1983: 89 n° 71 et p. 94.

14, 1 *Bhada Aleka*. Noms propres sans étymologie certaine. DANI traduit «the noble Aleka (or Alexander)» ce qui me paraît aventureux. *Pl. 26, 30*

14, 2 Au bas de la paroi, à gauche d'un Buddha grossièrement dessiné. *Ḍadhavosa laveṇa evaṇisa.* *Pl. 26, 30*

Entre 50 avant et 50 après n.è.

Je ne comprends pas ce texte et c'est pourquoi je m'abstiens de corriger très légèrement *(bu)dhavosa* pour retrouver un nom en

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buddha-°. DANI p. 94 lit *Budhavoto lavanae praṭhataka*, «Lavana established the Bodhisattva», ce qui syntaxiquement est impossible: *Budhavoto* correspondrait à sanskrit *Buddhaguptaḥ*; *lavanae* pourrait seulement être un instrumental féminin et *praṭhataka* ne peut être un adjectif verbal.

Pl. 31 **14**, 3 A gauche de **14**, 2; au-dessus et à gauche du dessin malhabile d'un personnage debout. Je connais cette inscription, que sur place je n'avais pas remarquée, grâce à une excellente photographie de V. THEWALT (50I/03). *Udeṇao* [*tha*]*vao*, «Udenaka, le *thavaka-*»

Date incertaine (après Kaniṣka ?)

La lecture est sûre, même pour le [*tha*], endommagé par une fissure. Il s'agit de deux noms au nominatif. Le premier correspond à sanskrit *Udayana-*, augmenté d'un *-ka-* explétif qui aboutit à *-a-*; le second semble être un nom de métier, < skt *sthāpaka-*, «érigeur, bâtisseur» ou *stavaka-*, «louangeur». L'étymologie ne permet pas de deviner le sens précis d'un terme technique de ce genre. On notera aussi que *sthāpaka-* est peut-être préférable à *stavaka-*, qui devrait aboutir dans ce moyen-indien à **thoa-*.

Chilas II, inscriptions non vues sur place

15, 1 DANI 1983: 116 iv, non illustrée par DANI qui lit *mahākṣatrapasa Raṭha*...

Pl. 32 **15**, 2 DANI 1983: 115 n° 91 et p. 116 ii. A gauche d'une figure debout, quatre *akṣara* kharoṣṭhī qui me paraissent illisibles et que DANI transcrit *śevasa*, «de Śiva», phonétiquement et paléographiquement difficile à admettre.

15, 3–4 DANI 1983: 115 n° 92 et p. 118 ii. DANI lit *Iśidibo Vareamahasa Maheśa*, «the god Īśa. Maheśa of Vareamaha» où Iśa et Maheśa seraient des épithètes de Śiva. Sur la photo je crois voir deux textes distincts que je ne comprends pas:

Pl. 32 **15**, 3 *Iśidibo*

Pl. 32 **15**, 4 *Vraḍeamahubamae*

15, 5 DANI 1983: 122 signale deux inscriptions kharoṣṭhī qu'il transcrit sans les illustrer *Śivaputrasa* et *Budharakṣitasa*.

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III *Inscriptions kharoṣṭhī isolées dans la plaine de Chilas*

16, 1 Minargāh. Je connais ce texte grâce à DANI 1983: 62 et 63 n° 43. Je n'ai pas vu la pierre. DANI lit *Magulaputrasa*, «du fils de Magula» et attribue le graffito au Ier siècle avant n.è. Je lis *Mogalaputrasa*, «du fils de Mogala». *Mogala-* correspond au nom sanskrit bien connu *Maudgalya-*. On le trouve en premier terme de composé dans le nom de bouddhistes très célèbres (MALALASEKERA 1937 *s.v. Moggala-*) mais c'est tout d'abord et tout autant un nom brahmanique. La lecture est sûre, mais le *sa* final se distingue assez mal. Je me refuse donc à dater ce texte. *Pl. 33*

17 Chilas, New Colony. DANI 1983: 64 et 65 n° 46. J'ai vu la pierre et j'ai disposé de nombreuses photos et d'un estampage au latex que m'ont fait parvenir MM. JETTMAR et THEWALT.

17, 1 Brāhmī [*deva*]*dharmoyaṃ*, «ceci est le don pieux». *Pl. 34*

17, 2 Kharoṣṭhī *Vijadipriya Ribeṃdhatha-vaṃśa-raja*, «Vijayapriya (l'aimé de la Victoire), le roi de la race de Ribeṃdhatha». *Pl. 34*

La lecture est sûre, sauf pour la séquence *dhathavam*: le *dha* et le *tha*, très cursifs, se touchent et forment une sorte de ligature; le *vaṃ* est plus cursif qu'on ne l'attendrait et ressemble à un *da*. Mais aucune autre transcription ne conviendrait pour la ligature *dhatha* et le sens impose de lire *vaṃ*, ce que la paléographie n'interdit pas. Sur l'équivalence *Vijadi-/vijaya-*, voir BROUGH 1962: 91 (> FUSSMAN 1980 a: 16 note 5) et 87 § 43 a. Si ce petit chef (*rāja-*) porte un nom indien bien pompeux comme on en trouve dans les hautes vallées débouchant sur le Gandhāra (FUSSMAN 1980 a: 25 et 28–29; FUSSMAN 1982: 46), l'ancêtre fondateur de la lignée portait un nom auquel je n'arrive pas à trouver une étymologie indo-aryenne. Pour une situation analogue, voir FUSSMAN 1982: 46.

17, 2 est la seule inscription kharoṣṭhī de la plaine de Chilas qui mentionne un *rāja-*. Le plus simple est de supposer qu'il s'agit du chef de Chilas (ou d'un chef de Chilas). La graphie de **17**, 2 très soignée, ne permet guère de dater ce texte. Les *akṣara* sont assez cursifs et ne me paraissent pas pouvoir être datés avant la fin du Ier siècle de n.è. Un indice important est fourni par **17**, 1. Le

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style de gravure de **17**, 2 est en effet unique dans la région de Chilas: *akṣara* profondément incisés, traits épais, espaces importants. Or ces particularités qui, je le répète, ne se voient dans aucune autre inscription kharoṣṭhī de cette région et qui sont très rarement attestées dans les graffiti brāhmī caractérisent aussi **17**, 1. Je suis persuadé que les deux textes ont été gravés en même temps, par le même personnage et qu'il faut traduire: «Ceci est un don pieux. (Signé) Vijaya-priya, roi de la race de Ribeṃdhatha». **17**, 2 daterait donc du Vème siècle de n.è. au plus tôt.

On comprendra dans ces conditions que je ne puisse accepter la lecture de DANI 1983: 64 *Vitaspa priyati Gendavharasa raja* où *Vitaspa* serait une divinité iranienne et *Gendavharasa* le roi indo-parthe Gondopharès (dont le titre le plus modeste est *mahārāja*: JENKINS et NARAIN 1957: 16). DANI ne propose d'ailleurs aucune traduction et l'on ne voit pas quelle traduction appellerait cette lecture: syntaxiquement, c'est un monstre.

18 Thalpan, Altar rock. DANI 1983: 64 (non illustré). Je n'ai pas vu la pierre, mais j'ai disposé d'excellentes photographies en couleurs fournies par le Prof. K. JETTMAR.

Pl. 35 **18**, 1 a *vicaradidha*
b *miṃkaX*

L'inscription est très peu profondément gravée. La lecture de la première ligne est raisonnablement sûre; celle de la seconde l'est moins: le *miṃ* pourrait être un *mi* avec une fioriture au bas, l'*akṣara* final (non transcrit) peut être lu *ḍa*, *ba*, *ta*, *da*, ou *sa* (à boucle ouverte, de date kouchane). DANI coupe de façon à obtenir un nom compréhensible, même si c'est aux dépens de la syntaxe (*vicarati Dhamikasa*, «the devout moves»). Il est inusuel que le *-r-* disparaisse en gāndhārī et il est curieux que le nom propre soit écrit sur deux lignes alors qu'il y a toute la place nécessaire sur la pierre: logiquement le *dha* devrait se trouver ligne b. Je propose donc de lire: *vicaratidha Miṃkaḍa*, «Miṃkaḍa est venu ici». Le *saṃdhi* de *vicarati* + *idha* (sanskrit *iha*) s'explique aisément en moyen-indien: soit *ī* < *i+i* (la kharoṣṭhī ne note pas les longues), soit élision du *-i* de *vicarati* (présent historique). La conservation — irrégulière en gāndhārī — d'un *-ca-* intervocalique s'expliquerait par l'analogie du simple *carati*.

Aucune date ne peut être proposée pour un texte de ce genre.

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J'ai seulement l'*impression* qu'il ne saurait être antérieur au IIème siècle de n.è.

19 A l'Ouest de Camp Site. DANI 1983: 66 (bas) et 68 (haut) et 73 n° 53. Graffito très légèrement gravé sur un rocher que j'ai pu examiner.

19, 1 *Varimaṇatraasa*, «de Varimana Traa». *Pl. 36*

Deuxième siècle de n.è. au plus tôt (le *sa* final est ouvert et très cursif).

La lecture est à peu près sûre sauf pour l'initiale qui pourrait être *da* et la séquence finale qui pourrait se lire *travasa*. On peut imaginer de nombreuses étymologies indo-aryennes pour un nom commençant en *vari°* ou *varimana°* (*varman-*), mais aucune ne s'impose. DANI 1983: 66 considère que la lecture *Uvimadasakasa* est sûre et que «although no royal title is attached to this name, yet it will not be wrong to see in it an attempt to write the Kushāṇa name Vima Kadaphasa». C'est peu vraisemblable et paléographiquement impossible.

20 Chilas IV-Manhattan. Rocher isolé portant trois inscriptions kharoṣṭhī, des dessins d'ibex et un dessin ovale où M. DANI reconnaît, avec beaucoup d'optimisme, une empreinte du pied du Buddha (qui n'aurait en ce cas que deux orteils). DANI 1983: 68 iii (non illustré). J'ai vu la pierre et disposé d'excellentes photos prises par le Dr. THEWALT.

20, 1 *Saṃghapalasa ṣamaṇasa*, «du moine Saṃgha-pāla (Protecteur de la Communauté bouddhique)». *Pl. 37*

Fin du Ier siècle de notre ère au plus tôt.

20, 2 *Veḍahasa*, «de Veḍaha». *Pl. 37*

Fin du Ier siècle de n.è. au plus tôt.

20, 3 *Aṣaḍeasa*, «de Aṣaḍea». *Pl. 37*

Fin du Ier siècle au plus tôt.

Il s'agit de trois inscriptions différentes comme le montre leur disposition sur la pierre. Veḍaha, sans étymologie connue, a aussi inscrit son nom en **21**, 1. Aṣaḍea correspond à sanskrit *Āṣāḍhīya-*, «né sous la constellation Aṣāḍhā-»; il faut en effet se souvenir que dans tous les inscriptions kharoṣṭhī ce nom de mois est écrit *aṣaḍa-* (KONOW 1929: C).

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21 Chilas V. Graffito disposé sur deux lignes. DANI 1983: 68 i (non illustré). J'ai disposé de deux bonnes photographies prises par le Dr. THEWALT.

Pl. 38 **21**, 1 a *Veḍahasa*

b *Oṇakasa*, «de Veḍaha, de Oṇaka» ou «de Veḍaha Oṇaka». DANI préfère lire *Veghahasa Oṇakasa*, ce qui est tout à fait possible. Veḍaha est attesté en **20**, 2. Je ne puis proposer aucune explication ou étymologie pour ces noms dont le premier pourrait tout aussi bien se transcrire *Verehasa*.

Fin du Ier siècle de n.è. au plus tôt.

22 Chilas V. Cliché THEWALT N 66,35. Rocher portant une représentation grossière de *stūpa* et une inscription kharoṣṭhī recouverte par des dessins plus récents et mal discernables. Je n'ai pas vu la pierre.

Pl. 39 **22**, 1 XX[*he? mo?*]*sa* XXXXXX *thubu* XX, «le *stūpa* . . .».

Fin du Ier siècle de n.è. au plus tôt.

23 Chilas VI. DANI 1983: 68 i (non illustrée).

DANI lit *Vehavaranasa thubu pratatha(ka)*, «the *stūpa* was established by Vehavarana». Je n'ai pas vu ce graffito et je ne puis rien en dire sinon que la lecture est syntaxiquement improbable.

24 Chilas III. Cliché THEWALT N 46,66. Je n'ai pas vu la pierre. Graffito kharoṣṭhī disposé sur deux lignes.

Pl. 40 **24**, 1 a XX*ma*

b XXX*ṇakada*

Je ne garantis pas ces lectures.

25 Thor-Nord. Cliché JETTMAR 1979: 606–30. Graffito kharoṣṭhī disposé sur deux lignes.

Pl. 41 **25**, 1 a *Ba*[*re*]*sa*[*deba*]

b *śramaṇa*X, «le moine Ba. . . .».

IIème siècle de n.è. au plus tôt.

Je ne garantis pas le nom du moine: les *akṣara* entre crochets, bien que visibles, admettent plusieurs transcriptions entre lesquelles j'ai seulement choisi la plus vraisemblable. On pourrait tout aussi bien lire, par exemple, *ba*[*ḍra*]*sa-*, *ba*[*dre*]*sa-*, etc. *Śramaṇa*X se lit parfaitement; le dernier *akṣara*, à peine visible,

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semble ne pas pouvoir être lu *sa*, ce qui exclut un génitif. On notera que *śramaṇa-* est du sanskrit, non de la gāndhārī (*ṣamaṇa-*).

26 Oshi-Bat, diapositive 8401/39-T84 D 20-28. Long graffito kharoṣṭhī sur le flanc d'un rocher couvert de courbes. Je n'ai pas vu la pierre.

26, 1 *Iṃdraśiraputre Viḡudeve saṃpra*[*te*], «Vighnadeva, fils d'Indraśira (est venu)». *Pl. 42*

II–IIIème siècle de n.è.

La lecture est sûre sauf pour la séquence *ḡu*, clairement visible sur le cliché, mais de forme inusuelle: le *ga* a l'apparence d'un *phi* majuscule de l'alphabet grec alors que dans tous les cas jusqu'ici connus il a la forme d'un *phi* minuscule. Ce *ga* surmonté d'un trait horizontal (*ḡa*) est connu dans d'autres textes kharoṣṭhī. Il y correspond à un *ṅgha* ou *ṅga* du sanskrit (BROUGH 1962: 63 § 10). L'onomastique est purement indienne et brahmanique. *Iṃdraśira-* < *Indra-śiras-* est difficilement traduisible, comme tous les noms indiens en °*śiras-*, «tête» (HILKA 1910: 127 f). *Viḡudeva-* < *vighna-*⟨*vināyaka-*⟩*deva-*, «qui a pour dieu (Gaṇeśa éloigneur d')obstacles».

Ce graffito s'insère non dans la série des inscriptions de Chilas, mais dans celle d'Alam Bridge (FUSSMAN 1978): graphie kharoṣṭhī qui évoque la graphie très particulière d'Alam Bridge **5**, 7 et **10**, 3; vocalisme en *u* (si la lecture est exacte) inexplicable (si l'étymologie est exacte) dans *viḡu* si < *vighna-*; surtout formulaire caractéristique d'Alam Bridge (FUSSMAN 1978: index *s. v.* °*putra-* et *sabradi*) de type: «X, fils de Y» suivi d'un mot que j'avais interprété (p. 25) comme < *saṃprati*, «maintenant». HUMBACH 1980: 102 y a correctement reconnu l'équivalent de sanskrit *samprāptaḥ*, «est arrivé ici». La phonétique ne s'y oppose pas car sanskrit *-ṃp-* > gāndhārī *-ṃb-* est parallèle à l'évolution *-nt-* > *-d-* et *-nth-* > *-dh-* (BROUGH 1962: 98 § 46). Le seul trait qui distingue **26**, 1 des inscriptions d'Alam Bridge sont les nominatifs en *-e* qui ne sont attestés ni à Chilas ni à Alam Bridge mais sont connus dans la région (plaque d'or de Senavarma: FUSSMAN 1982: 40).

27 Oshi-bat, diapositive 8401/53-T84D18. Inscription kharoṣṭhī isolée sur un rocher. Incomplète à gauche?

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Pl. 43 **27**, 1 *Śiradaṇa Ṇavapra*[
Non datable.
La lecture du deuxième *ṇa* n'est pas certaine. Les deux mots sont sans doute des noms d'origine indo-aryenne. Le premier pourrait se traduire «don de la tête», (*śiro-dāna-*), ce qui n'a guère de sens mais peut faire allusion à un évènement que nous ne connaissons pas.

IV *Conclusion d'ensemble*

Seul le site de Chilas II (mes n^os^ **1–15**) constitue un véritable ensemble; seul il mérite d'être traité comme un tout et ces conclusions porteront donc sur lui seulement. Ces graffiti peuvent paraître décevants: pour l'essentiel, ce sont des séries de noms propres dont je puis uniquement dire ou que ce sont des formations indiennes bien attestées ou que je ne sais comment les interpréter. Pas de noms déjà connus permettant de compléter une prosopographie; aucun texte qu'on puisse attribuer à un *rāja* ou à un *mahārāja*, célèbre ou oublié. Pas de titres nobiliaires ou royaux, pas de date, même pas de quoi proposer une nouvelle théorie sur l'ère de Kaniṣka! L'épigraphiste et l'historien ne sont apparemment pas à la fête.
C'est que nous avons perdu la saveur du premier instant de la découverte. Lorsque l'on montra en 1942 à Aurel STEIN les premiers graffiti de Chilas, lorsque K. JETTMAR et ISMAIL KHAN arrivèrent les premiers à Chilas II en 1979, lorsque j'en escaladai les rochers en 1980, lorsque les participants à la conférence de Gilgit s'y arrêtèrent en 1983, ce qui nous frappa tous d'émerveillement, ce n'est ni la beauté de ces dessins souvent rudimentaires, ni le contenu – que nous ignorions le plus souvent – de ces graffiti, c'était leur présence même à Chilas tenu jusqu'alors pour coupé de la plaine indienne par le relief, les gorges de l'Indus et les féroces tribus qui précédèrent en cette région du monde les tout aussi féroces Pathans et Kohistanis. Les graffiti de Chilas II nous permettent aujourd'hui de dire qu'au Ier siècle de n.è.

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Chilas était partie intégrante du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, ce qui implique des contacts réguliers avec le Swāt, la plaine de Peshawar et le haut Panjāb, donc l'existence d'un réseau de routes et de pouvoirs politiques assez forts et assez stables pour en assurer l'entretien et la sécurité au moment même où Śakas, Pahlavas et Kouchans se disputaient la possession du Gandhāra et du Panjāb. A nous qui avons la tête pleine des aventures de BIDDULPH, d'Algernon DURAND et de G. ROBERTSON, cela paraît tenir du miracle. Il ne faudrait pas qu'une meilleure connaissance de cette région et de ces textes nous fît oublier cette première impression: elle correspond à une appréciation assez juste des difficultés qui devaient être surmontées pour établir un lien entre Chilas et la plaine indienne.

Il y a dans la haute vallée de l'Indus trois groupements d'inscriptions kharoṣṭhī: Alam Bridge (FUSSMAN 1978, HUMBACH 1980), Hunza-Haldeikish (inédit mais partiellement étudié) et Chilas II. Hunza-Haldeikish et Alam Bridge sont, à bien des égards, des sites analogues: situés près d'un gué ou à un point stratégique de la route, ils présentent des rochers gravés d'inscriptions kharoṣṭhī et brāhmī où ne se voient que de rares dessins. La majorité des inscriptions kharoṣṭhī y datent des II–IIIème siècles de n.è.; beaucoup sont formellement datées; elles présentent des noms propres au nominatif et le formulaire-type, plus ou moins abrégé selon les cas, est le suivant: «en l'an *n*, X fils de Y est venu ici».

Chilas II ne présente aucune de ces caractéristiques. Ce groupe de rochers ne semble ni au bord d'un gué, ni dans un lieu de passage ou d'arrêt obligé. Tout au plus peut-on noter que la proximité de l'eau et l'ombre abondante des parois concaves en font, l'été, un des endroits les plus agréables de Chilas. Les dessins y sont beaucoup plus nombreux et plus spectaculaires que les inscriptions: représentations de divinités hindoues, de Buddha, de *stūpa*, d'animaux, cortèges de soldats et d'éleveurs. Il n'y a rien de semblable dans toute la haute vallée de l'Indus. Les inscriptions brāhmī sont très rares et manifestement intrusives: l'immense majorité des inscriptions sont de courts graffiti kharoṣṭhī datant des environs de n.è., les plus anciens jusqu'ici connus dans toute la haute vallée de l'Indus. Très peu peuvent être attribués à l'époque kouchane ancienne (de Wima Kadphisès à Vāsudeva),

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moins encore au IIIème siècle de n.è. Aucun n'est formellement daté. Dédicaces de certains *stūpa* exceptées (**2**, 3; **5**, 1; **10**, 1), ces graffiti sont constitués d'un seul nom propre, souvent au génitif, parfois à l'instrumental, assez rarement au nominatif, sans patronyme l'accompagnant ni titre, ni épithète reconnaissable (sauf **9**, 9). Parfois ce sont des listes de noms gravées de la même main (**2**, **9**). Les mêmes noms peuvent réapparaître: Buddhagupta (deux fois), Buddharakṣita (trois fois), Samudra (trois fois), Rāhula (six fois). Dans le cas de Rāhula, il est assuré qu'il s'agit du même personnage; il est probable qu'il en va de même pour Samudra.

Qui sont ces gens? L'écriture kharoṣṭhī assure qu'ils sont originaires du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde. Lorsque les noms sont compréhensibles, ils sont toujours susceptibles d'une étymologie indo-aryenne et très souvent présentent des particularités phonétiques telles qu'on peut les considérer comme gāndhārī (mais l'aire linguistique gāndhārī déborde largement le Gandhāra); nombre d'entre eux sont connus au Cachemire. Les auteurs de ces graffiti étaient relativement cultivés puisqu'ils savaient écrire: cela exclut de simples paysans ou éleveurs. Ce ne sont probablement pas des roitelets ou des «chefs» quelconques puisque jamais ils ne mentionnent leurs titres. Sur la paroi **2** ces personnages sont représentés comme des cavaliers (ce qui dénote un assez haut statut social) menant des bêtes et approchant d'un *stūpa*.

Je ne vois qu'une hypothèse capable de rendre compte de tous ces faits. Si l'on en écarte certains dessins qui peuvent être d'origine locale (**13**), Chilas II semble surtout avoir été un campement d'été de marchands ou de caravaniers. Arrivant du Swāt ou de la vallée de Kaghan, ils attendaient là, à l'ombre et près de l'eau nécessaire à leurs bêtes, que le niveau des fleuves ait suffisamment baissé pour leur permettre de continuer leur voyage. Plus probablement, puisque leur nom ne se retrouve pas ailleurs dans la vallée de l'Indus, ils y attendaient que leurs bêtes se soient reposées avant de reprendre, leurs affaires traitées, la route vers la plaine indienne ou le Cachemire. Il est impossible de dire combien de temps et combien de fois ce campement fut utilisé; la période d'utilisation intensive fut sans doute assez brève. Chilas fut en contact avec la plaine indienne *au* Ier siècle de n.è., mais pas forcément pendant tout ce temps, ni sans interruptions.

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Des marchands savent écrire, et surtout signer. Ces graffiti au génitif ressemblent à des empreintes de cachet au génitif qu'il faut traduire, selon le cas: «(don), (propriété), (envoi), (acte) de X». Séjournant sur place assez longtemps, ces voyageurs avaient le loisir de décorer les parois de dessins: animaux de la plaine indienne (bœuf à bosse, éléphants), *stūpa* célèbres, divinités hindoues, etc... Ils nous ont ainsi transmis des renseignements précieux sur l'architecture des *stūpa* du Gandhāra (**2**, **10**, **11**), sur les réinterprétations cosmologiques de monuments bouddhiques (**10**), peut-être sur le culte du *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī (**2**, **3**), sur les rapports entre śivaïsme et bouddhisme (**4**), sur la popularité du culte de Hārītī (**3**) et – de façon tout à fait inattendue – sur la présence de cultes viṣṇuites dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, sur l'état d'évolution de la doctrine des *avatāra* et sur l'iconographie locale de Vāsudeva et Balarāma (**1**, **7**). L'étude détaillée des dessins apportera sans doute de nouvelles précisions, mais, pour qui sait les lire, ces graffiti révèlent déjà bien plus qu'une page d'histoire locale: c'est la vie quotidienne du Panjāb et du Gandhāra au Ier siècle de n.è. que nous y devinons.

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Table de concordance entre la numérotation utilisée par DANI 1983 et le présent travail

On trouvera d'abord la concordance entre les numéros des photographies publiées par DANI et les numéros ici utilisés. Lorsqu'il y a eu inversion des planches dans l'ouvrage de DANI, deux numéros sont utilisés: 87/88 signifie que l'inscription est illustrée dans la photo n° 87 de DANI et mentionnée sous le n° 88 dans son texte.
On trouvera à la fin le numéro des pages où DANI 1983 signale des inscriptions qu'il n'illustre pas et auxquelles il n'affecte pas de numéro d'ordre.

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Index des termes apparaissant dans les graffiti de Chilas

Lorsque ces termes sont des noms propres, je le signale par une initiale majuscule. Je les fais suivre du terme sanskrit correspondant, écrit entre parenthèses, lorsque je le connais. L'ordre alphabétique est celui du sanskrit. Par commodité, je ne signale pas les syllabes restituées lorsque la restitution me paraît fort probable: l'index ne dispense donc pas de se reporter au texte.

aoḍito (*āvartitaḥ* ?) 2, 3 d; 5, 1 c–d
Ada° ; voir *Saada°* 13, 1
Aleka 14, 1
Aṣaḍea-(Āsāḍhīya-) 20, 3
aharetha 12, 5
Iṃdra-śira° (*Indra-śiras-*) 26, 1
idha (*iha*) 18, 1
Iśidibo 15, 3
°uta- (*°gupta-*) 2, 8
edetharadika 12, 4
Oṇaka- 21, 1
Oṇivasta- 11, 1
°ota- (*°gupta-*) 8, 4
Odiva-; ou *Odivasa-* 3, 2 b
Kaka- (*Kāka-, Kakka-*) 9, 3; 12, 9
Kaḍao 9, 1
Kaṇa- (*Karṇa-*) 2, 3 c
°Kriṣa (*Kṛṣṇaḥ*) 1, 2
Khamoka-(kṣamāvant-?) 12, 3
Goṇadasa (*Goṇa-dāsaḥ* ou *Go-nanda-*) 13, 1
Ghoṣa-mitra- (*Ghoṣa-mitra-*) 7, 2; 9, 6
ca (*ca*); voir *ya* 2, 3 c; 5, 1 a
Jha... 1, 3
°ṭāta (*°trātaḥ?*) 2, 5
Ḍekavatraida- 5, 1 b–c
ṭhavadi- (*sthāpati-*) 9, 9
°ṇada- (*°nanda-?*) 13, 1
thubu (*stūpaḥ*) 5, 1 a; 5, 1 d–e; 10, 1 a; 22, 1
thubo (*stūpaḥ*) 2, 3 b
°datta- (*°datta-*) 2, 7 (brāhmī)
°dasa- (*°dāsa-*) 4, 1; 13, 1?
°debo (*°devaḥ*) 7, 3
devadharmo'yaṃ 17, 1 (brāhmī)
°deve (*°devaḥ*) 26, 1
°devo (*°devaḥ*) 7, 6

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Drubilaa- (*Drāviḍaka-*?, *Drumila-*)	**2**, 8
Dhapaḍa	**13**, 3 (brāhmī)
°*dharmo* (°*dharmaḥ*)	**17**, 1 (brāhmī)
(*Dhāna*°) voir *Jha*...	
(*Dhyāna-*) voir *Jha*...	
°*pala-* (°*pāla-*)	**20**, 1
pave...	**12**, 10
Paśia- (*Pāśika-*)	**11**, 1
°*puto* (*putraḥ*)	**13**, 1
°*putra-* (*putra-*)	**16**, 1; **15**, 5?
°*putre* (*putraḥ*)	**26**, 1
Puśia-	**11**, 1
Praṭhaka- ou *praṭhaka-* (*praṣṭha-* ou *prastha-*)	**3**, 3 b; **12**, 8
praṭhita- (*prasthita-*)	**9**, 4
°*pria-* (°*priya-*)	**2**, 3 a
°*priya* (°*priyaḥ*)	**17**, 2
Baisahava...	**3**, 1
Baresadeba... (?)	**25**, 1 a
(*Baladeva-*) voir *Valadebo*	
Budhauta- (*Buddha-gupta-*)	**2**, 8
Budhaota- (*Buddha-gupta-*)	**8**, 4
Budharakṣita- (*Buddha-rakṣita-*)	**6**, 1 a; **12**, 1; **15**, 5 ?
Budhavasa- (*Buddha-dāsa-*?)	**4**, 2
Bhada	**14**, 1
(*Mañjuśrī-*) voir *Mijupria-*	
Maṇa-	**9**, 7
Madira- (*madira-*)	**12**, 11
MaXXka-	**9**, 8
Miṃkaḍa	**18**, 1 b
MijaraXka	**3**, 2
Mijupria- (*Mañjupriya-*)	**2**, 3 a
°*mitra-* (°*mitra-*)	**7**, 2; **9**, 6
Mui... (*Muci*...)	**8**, 5
Mogala° (*Maudgalya*°)	**16**, 1
ya (*ca*)	**5**, 1 c
'yaṃ (*ayam*)	**17**, 1 (brāhmī)
°*rakṣita-* (°*rakṣita-*)	**6**, 1 a; **12**, 1
°*raja* (°*rājaḥ*)	**17**, 2
Ramakriṣa (*Rāma-kṛṣṇaḥ*)	**1**, 2
Rahula- (*Rāhula-*)	**2**, 1; **2**, 3 c; **7**, 1; **7**, 4; **7**, 5; **8**, 3
Ribeṃdhatha°	**17**, 2
likhito (*likhitaḥ*)	**2**, 3 b
°*vaṃśa*° (*vaṃśa-*)	**17**, 2

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Vaṃkaaa- (**Vāṅkātaka-*) 2, 9
Vama- ou *Vamasa-* 13, 4
Varimaṇatraa- 19, 1
Valadebo (*Bala-devaḥ*) 7, 3
°*vasa-* (°*dāsa-*?) 4, 2
Vasu-datta- (*Vāsu-datta-*) 2, 7 (brāhmī)
Vasu-devo (*Vāsu-devaḥ*) 7, 6
Vigudeve (*Vighna-devaḥ*) 26, 1
vicaradi (*vicarati*) 18, 1 a
Vijadi-priya (*Vijaya-priyaḥ*) 17, 2
Vidia 2, 2
Viṇa... 8, 6
Veghaha- ? 21, 1
Veḍaha- ? 20, 2; 21, 1
Vraḍeamahubamae 15, 4
Vhamova- 3, 1
Śama- (*śyāma-*?) 8, 2
Śamotha 13, 4
°*śira*° (°*śiras*°) 26, 1
Śiradaṇa 27, 1
Śiva-dasa- (*Śiva-dāsa-*) 4, 1
Śiva-putra- ? 15, 5
śramaṇa- (*śramaṇa-*) 25, 1 b
ṣamaṇa- (*śramaṇa-*) 20, 1
Saada° ou *Ada*° 13, 1
Saoka- 12, 2
Saṃgha-pala- (*Saṃgha-pāla-*) 20, 1
Sagha° (*Saṃgha*°) 10, 1 a
Samudra- (*Samudra-*) 1, 1; 8, 1; 9, 2
Samudra-seṇa (*Samudra-sena-*) 9, 5
saṃprate (*saṃprāptaḥ*) 26, 1
Sarva-ṭāta (*Śarva-trātaḥ*?) 2, 5
Sidhalaka- (*Siddha-*) 12, 4
Sihaba- (*Siṃha-*?) 5, 1 a
°*seṇa-* (°*sena-*) 9, 5
Hariti° (*Hārītī*°) 3, 3 a

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Abréviations: AVA – Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie
BEFEO – Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
CAJ – Central Asiatic Journal
C.I.I. – Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
JAOS – Journal of the American Oriental Society

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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTIONS ON THE HISTORY AND CULTURE OF THE UPPER INDUS VALLEY*

No inscription was noticed by Aurel STEIN during his first journey in the Gilgit area on his way to Central Asia in the year 1900, nor was any epigraph brought to his notice, when he passed through this region again in the year 1913 (STEIN 1944: 16) and in June 1931, when he saw some of the Gilgit Manuscripts as the first European. It was only a decade later that A.W. REDPATH, then Assistant Political Agent in Gilgit, informed Aurel STEIN about the Hātūn inscription, the longest Sanskrit inscription found in North Pakistan so far, and, in the same year (1941), STEIN learned from G.H. EMERSON about inscriptions discovered near Chilās. In spite of his high age, STEIN undertook one of his last journeys bringing him to Chilās in August 1942,

* I should like to express my sincere thanks to M.G. FUSSMAN, Collège de France, at whose invitation I gave a lecture at Paris on "Buddhist Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Upper Indus Valley" on 21th March 1985. This article is the modified and enlarged version of the first part of that lecture.

The second part is published in this volume under the title: "Buddhistische Inschriften aus dem Tal des oberen Indus".

The inscriptions have been counted in current numbers: nos. 1–67 in this article, nos. 68–109 in "Buddhistische Inschriften" contained in this volume, nos. 110–147 in v. Hinüber 1986.

The "*siddham*-symbol" (v. HINÜBER 1983a: 272; ROTH 1986; SANDER 1986) at the beginning of some inscriptions has been marked as #. *Akṣaras* of doubtful reading have been put into parentheses: ( ); filled gaps have been marked by brackets [ ]; cancelled *akṣaras* { }. A missing vowel or consonant part of an *akṣara* is indicated by a dot.

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where he could photograph inscriptions and drawings, some of which have been published by STEIN (1944). The year of the publication by the end of the second world war seems to have been as much in the way of an immediate recognition of the value of this material as the political upheaval following the partition of British India, by which the inaccessibility of this area due to poor means of communication was increased, and hindered any systematic research.

The next important discovery, though not recognized as such immediately, was the inscription at Danyor, seen for the first time by K. JETTMAR in 1958, while staying in the Upper Indus region as a member of an Austrian mountaineering expedition, long before he discovered the first drawings on rocks near Thor in 1973 (JETTMAR 1980a: 186). Earlier, in 1955, P. SNOY had seen some graffiti in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī not too far from Gilgit at Alam Bridge. It took more than twenty years before this group of inscriptions was published finally in the pioneering article by G. FUSSMAN: Inscriptions de Gilgit (1978)[1].

The beginning of a systematic collection and documentation of inscriptions and drawings, however, was made possible only since the Karakorum Highway has been completed and opened during the winter 1978/79. Although it is by far too early to attempt even a first survey of what has been found so far[2], it may be useful nevertheless to publish some of those inscriptions which may prove to be of special value for tracing the history and culture along the ancient Upper Indus Valley, even if a final evaluation is not possible at present. Besides the limitations resulting from the content of the inscriptions presented here, generally only those have been taken into consideration, which I have inspected myself on the spot. They are supplemented occasionally by inscriptions accessible to me merely as photographs. In spite of

1 For comments on this edition see HUMBACH 1980; 100, no. 5,34 should be read *śrī dharmo* instead of *śrī dharma* with a superscript *ṇa*; 104, no. 21,15 on *śrīdyaśoṭaka* cf. v. HINÜBER 1983a: 273; HUMBACH 1980: 105, no. 21,16, read *śrīrgha-* (?) with Dardic metathesis of liquids instead of *śīghra-*.

2 A comprehensive, though perhaps somewhat rash and premature interpretation has been published by DANI 1983.

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the obvious shortcomings of this procedure, priority was given to a publication of the material rather, even before a comprehensive understanding of all inscriptions, as it is hoped that this might pave the way to further insights into this rich epigraphical material.

The inscriptions, if written in an Indian script, may be divided into two groups, the older being written in Kharoṣṭhī, the younger in Brāhmī. Within the Brāhmī group the different forms of this script range from a late Kuṣāṇa – early Gupta type of the 4th century AD[3] to the fully developed Śāradā with some inscriptions written in a type of Brāhmī resembling the so-called nail-headed *akṣaras*, Central Asian Brāhmī and some different kinds of a highly ornamental Brāhmī sometimes not easy to read. However, the palaeographic investigation into these scripts is still in its very beginnings, and a final classification can be reached at only after a comprehensive study of the entire material.

Besides Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī there are inscriptions in Sogdian script, some in Chinese and Tibetan characters, about ten in Bactrian, and finally one in Hebrew.

According to their respective contents the inscriptions may be arranged as follows:

TYPE 1 contains only names either in the nominative or endingless, or less often in the genitive case. The following examples chosen to examplify this type have been collected mostly from Oshibat, stone no. 18, an isolated big boulder covered by more than 125 inscriptions, among which there are some in Kharoṣṭhī and Sogdian.

1. *śrī vuddhavarmakaḥ* (641-84/18/61) *Pl. 44*
2. a: *śrī ajitase* *Pl. 45*
   b: *naḥ* (641-84/18/78)[4]
3. *śrī ratnavarmaḥ* (641-84/18/37) *Pl. 46*
4. *śrī jayaviṣṇuḥ* (641-84/18/47) *Pl. 47*
5. *śrīr viṣṇugupte* (642-84/21/7) *Pl. 48*
6. *śrī saṃgrāma* (641-84/18/50, 86)[5] *Pl. 49, 50*

3 The dating follows L. SANDER, below p. 121.

4 In inscriptions written in two or more lines, the lines have been marked by *a*, *b*, *c*, etc.

5 This name occurs twice on the same stone.

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It is highly probable that the dots at the end of these inscriptions are to be interpreted as punctuation marks rather than as a *visarga*. The nominative ending in *-e* occasionally as in *viṣṇugupte* may be an attempt to indicate some kind of neutral vowel as found in earlier Middle Indian inscriptions in the North West (v. HINÜBER 1986: § 296).

Besides these Sanskrit names typical local names are attested as well:

Pl. 51 7. *śrī pāloṭṭaka* (641-84/18/64);

Pl. 52 7a: *pāloṭaka* (190-83: Camp Site)

Pl. 51 8. *śrī jīvoṭṭaka* (641-83/18/65)[6]

Names ending in *-oṭ(ṭ)a* attached to Sanskrit words are fairly common[7]. Other names are Iranian:

Pl. 53 9. *śrī maghaspāla* (641-84/18/40; cf. v. HINÜBER 1986a: no. 122)

Others resist any analysis so far:

Pl. 54 10. *ṣoḍhaḥyadhaḥ* (641-84/18/63)

Pl. 55 11. a: *acaṭabhina*

b: *dhijana* (642-84/20/14)

The genitive case is by far less common:

Pl. 56 12. *viṣṇudevvasya* (Je 79-61-17A, SANDER, Appendix 5)

Pl. 57 13. *rakṣasya*

Pl. 57 14. *vījāvadasya* (both: Je 79-34-28, SANDER, Appendix 8a)

Occasionally, the genitive ending has been cancelled:

Pl. 56 15. *maṇiveśa(sya)* (Je 79-61-17A, SANDER, Appendix 1)

TYPE 2: Here the names are combined with verbs meaning "has come, has arrived":

Pl. 58 16. *ādītyo iha gata* (176-85: Shatial-West; HUMBACH 1980a, no. 17)[8]

Pl. 59 17. *makhārjunaḥ prāptaḥ* (172-83: Camp Site; cf. v. HINÜBER 1986a: no. 128)

6 This name is of palaeographic interest because of the rather rare occurrence of *-ī-* noted as ⊙ in *jī*: ⊙ , cf. below p. 80.

7 On names ending in *-o(ṭ)ṭa(ka)*: v. HINÜBER 1983a: 273. It may be worth while pointing out the interchange of *r* and *l* in one of these names: *śūloṭasya* : *śūroṭa*, see below nos. 65, 106.

8 This type is frequent at Alam Bridge: FUSSMAN 1978: 60 s.v. *gata*.

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18. *vaka iha saṃprapta* (D 44/3: Hunza-Haldeikish; DANI 1985: no. 51)[9] *Pl. 60*

19. *vicarati (guṇasena) dharmabhāṇaka* (393-85: Oshibat, cf. no. 35a) *Pl. 61*

20. a: *namo vudhā(!) vicarati* *Pl. 62*
b: *jaicandrasya* (674-84: Thalpan Bridge)

21. *sīhavarma pracarati* (Je 79-34-13: Thor North) *Pl. 63*

DANI 1983: 152 proposes the meaning "spreads" or "proclaims" for *vicarati*, which seems to be a rather difficult assumption and still more so, if *pracarati* is considered. Further the frequent occurrences of *vicarati* together with non-Sanskrit names support the meaning "wanders about" rather, as Buddhist monks, if recognizable as such, normally bear Sanskrit names.

Finally an inscription discovered only recently in August 1985 seems to clarify the meaning:

21a. *śrī (bu)ddhalabdha vicarati iha utarāpati* (703-85: Thalpan-Village) *Pl. 64*

The verb *yā* stands isolated in these inscriptions so far:

22. *rahuśarma iha (yā)ta* (144-83: Camp Site), cf. below no. 37b.

A structural comparison of:

23. *jīvavarmma jaṭṭa vyo* (276-83 and 277-83: Hodar, cf. below, no. 30a) *Pl. 65*

with:

24. a: *śrī puṣyadeva (prapta vyo)*
b: *puṣyatrāta praptā vyo:* (132-83: Camp Site)

24a. *bhāgasiṅhe lovi(ta) vyo* (233-83: Hodar) *Pl. 66*

may point to a verb *vyo* "arrived" of unknown origin.

Very rarely only verbs having a meaning other than "has arrived" or "wanders about" occur:

25. *rahuśarma bravīti* (49/85: Minargah)

9 DANI *cakaṃ* by mistake. As the photo clearly shows, there is no name *hariṣena* read by DANI below this line. – The derivation of *sabrata* as suggested by HUMBACH 1980: 100, no. 9 and 101, no. 11 and accepted meanwhile by FUSSMAN (see above p. 29, no. 26,1), may be further corroborated by]*deva brāptaḥ* (!) in a Brāhmī inscription from Minargah (496-85).

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and again *vraviti*, perhaps to be interpreted as *bravīti* occurs in an otherwise as yet illegible inscription (02/01: Shatial III); cf. *paśyati* in no. 34e (?).

Quite exceptional is the following inscription:

Pl. 67 25a. *martavyaṃ smartavyaṃ* (81-02: Oshibat).

TYPE 3: Sometimes the names are accompanied by the indication of: a) professions, b) castes and tribes, c) religious status, d) official titles.

TYPE 3a: With the exception of *divira* "scribe" professions are mentioned comparatively seldom:

Pl. 68 26. *#śrī jīvadharmasya divīra////* (546-84 = 278/11: Thalpan)

Pl. 69 26a. *divirasuta pūrṇa dărapati* (see below, no. 57a)

The Iranian loanword *divira* occurs for the first time in a Gupta inscription dated 496/97 AD (MAYRHOFER 1963) s.v. *diviraḥ* (cf. STEIN 1900: V 177), in the Saṃghāṭasūtra manuscript D, probably dated 627/8 AD (v. HINÜBER 1980: 71 and 1983: 61), again in Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary (10th century) on Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā, and finally in the Rājataraṅgiṇī. It belongs to a group of Iranian titles borrowed probably during the time of the Sassanian empire, what will be discussed below (on no. 57foll.).

Once an actor is mentioned:

Pl. 70 27. *śrī indradattasya naṭasya* (46-85: Shatial-West)

It is certainly not by chance that a "leader of a caravan" occurs perhaps even twice:

Pl. 71 28. *śrī viṭa sarthavahasya* (16-83: Shatial-West)

This inscription has been written to the right of no. 16.

Pl. 72 28a. *vīṭasya* (or: *bhaṭasya* ?) (341-85: Oshibat)

Pl. 73 29. a: *citraghoṣa*

b: *+ + + (sa)[r]tha////* (25-83: Shatial-West)

cf.:

Pl. 74 29a. *citraghoṣa* (89-83: Chilās I)

Inscription no. 29 is badly damaged at the end, and consequently the reading of *sartha* is somewhat conjectural even on the rock itself.

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TYPE 3b: References to ethnic groups, castes or sometimes even localities are not frequent:

30. *jīvavarmma jaṭṭa rudraśa(ni)* (309-83: Camp Site) *Pl. 75*

Although the last *akṣara* here looks like *ti* rather than *ni*, the latter is more probable, if *rudraśaniho*, no. 33 is compared.

30a = 23. *jīvavarmma jaṭṭa vyo* (276-83 = v.H. 17 (Ho) = Je 2,4. 9.82,83; 277-83: Hodar; cf. no. 23 above) *Pl. 65*

30b. *jīvavarma jaṭṭo* (Hodar I: 221-1) *Pl. 76*

31. a: *jīvavarma jaṭṭa īśvaravarma dhorika* *Pl. 77*

b: *////re 50 ruṃeṣa pekako khāśarājyaṃ gata*

c: *viṣṇumakandika yaśanandi vāmadhorika*

d: *khandavarma vaṭukau*

e: *revatitrata* (Je 79-58-26, DANI 1983: 58, no. 40: Shatial-West; 31.b = v. HINÜBER 1986a: no. 134)

The inscriptions no. 30—31 are located at three different sites. Thus we can follow up the travels of *jīvavarma* along the left bank of the Indus and his crossing to the right bank for a visit to Hodar, which might have been a place of special, perhaps religious importance. Here and at Camp Site his name is spelled *-varmma*. The difference in orthography may hint at different scribes, as, of course, it is not very probable that *jīvavarma* himself should have written his own name in two different ways.

Jīvavarma is called *jaṭṭa*, therefore he is a member of the *jāṭs*, a well known and today widely spread north Indian tribe the name of which seems to occur here for the first time: (TURNER 1966: no. 5089 **jaṭṭa-*). In no. 31 a few more names of castes or tribes may be mentioned. Their spelling, however, is not always certain.

On top of the five lines given here, there is an inscription by a different hand and without any recognizable connection to the rest, which might read:

31a. *śrī pakadakasya* (or: *-ḍakasya*) (05/01: Shatial-West). *Pl. 77*

The next two lines are in Sogdian (no. 81 in HUMBACH 1980a). Before the inscription no. 31 begins, there are two lines in Kharoṣṭhī.

The reading of inscription 31 line *a* does not pose any serious difficulties except for the last *akṣara*, which looks like a somewhat unusual *ka*, reoccurring in *pekako*, line *b* (corresponding to Sogdian *pykk*, cf. v. HINÜBER 1986a on no. 134), and *makandika*, line *c*, which might be read as *makundika*, perhaps,

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as the loop at the foot of the *akṣara* does not form a full circle, thus resembling a subscript *u*, in *vāmadhorika*, line *c*, and finally in *vaṭukau*, line *d*. As nearly all characters of the Brāhmī alphabet do occur in the inscription, there is a choice among *ṭha*, *ḍa*, *ḍha*, *pha*, *ba*, *bha* and *ha*, of which only *ḍa* besides *ka* has a somewhat remote similarity to the *akṣara* as seen on the stone. This, further, is much less probable at the end of the word, where a suffix *-aka-* perhaps makes better sense.

Nothing seems to be missing in the beginning of line *a*. In line *b*, however, the stone has been damaged, while the Karakorum Highway was being built. The beginning can be supplied easily: [*saṃvatsa*]*re 50*. The following two *akṣaras* are difficult to read because of a flaw in the rock, but *ruṃe* seems to be a probable guess. Thus, this line may be translated as "in the year 50 *ruṃeṣa pekako* went to the Khāśa kingdom". The name of this traveller has been discussed in v. HINÜBER 1986a on no. 134. His destination was perhaps the Khāśa kingdom in western Kaśmīr (STEIN 1900 on I 317 and VI 175). The date of his journey is the year 50, which, as usual cannot be calculated with too much confidence. According to the script, it should be during the 4 /5 th centuries AD, as the left part of the *akṣara ma* is still curved in, and as the very flat *na* is clearly distinct from *ta*. If the *laukika* era is assumed here again, the inscription might be dated 374/75 or rather 474/75 AD, which, however, is highly conjectural.

The names *viṣṇu-makandika* and *yaśa-nandi* are easily understood. *Makandika*, less likely *makundika*, is rare, though *makandika* occurs in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya II 256,5 on Pāṇini 4.1.114; *yaśanandi* stands for a correct *yaśonandi*, and *ghaśanandi* cannot be ruled out. The initial limb of the name *khanda-varma* remains obscure at present.

The words *dhorika*, *vāma-dhorika*, and *vaṭukau* may be names of castes or tribes, as they are seemingly used in the same way *jaṭṭa* is. Although names of castes fitting very well linguistically can be found in present day south India, such as the *dhor* (weaver) caste in Dekhan and the *vaḍuga* (merchant) caste in Andhra (BAINES 1912, § 40; § 28), the distance in space and time seems to forbid an identification with the words mentioned in the inscription.

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The name *revatitrata* has been written by a second hand in front of *khandavarma* probably at a later date. *Revatitrata* is mentioned once again at Thor (North) (Je 35: 29a) without further context.
Finally there is another *jaṭṭa* at Camp Site:
32. *vīravarma jaṭṭa* (205-83) *Pl. 78*
It seems worth while pointing out that both *jaṭṭas* stayed at Camp Site and both bear names ending in *-varma*.
Names of places, on the other hand, such as *khāśarājya* in no. 31 are very rare:
33. a: *rudraśaniho* *Pl. 79*
b: *ramaysanagara* (278-83: Hodar; = v. HINÜBER 1986a: no. 115)
If the name is to be analysed as *rudra-śaniho*, the second limb is obscure, and a reading °*śuniho* cannot be ruled out. The city of *ramaysa* does not seem to be known otherwise; a reading *rumaysa*, however, as conjectured in v. HINÜBER 1986a, is impossible. The orthography might point to the Khotan region.
Further, a place name has been assumed by DANI in an inscription, which has been destroyed in the meantime, when the new bridge connecting Chilās and Thalpan was built in 1983/84:
34. *virasomo nagara////* (Thalpan-Bridge, DANI 1983: 2, no. 1; DANI 1985a: Pl. IIIa) *Pl. 80*
However, the shape of the *akṣara* read as *na* by DANI hardly allows for this interpretation because of the loop clearly visible at the lower left part. Thus it seems to be the name of a person rather: *virasomo bhagara*. It is noteworthy that the same name occurs more often, and again with different, but mostly obscure epithets:
34a. *vīrasomaḥ apāpaḥ* (645-84/18/105: Oshibat) *Pl. 81*
34b. *vīrasoma (a) + +* (115-85: Shatial-West) *Pl. 82*
34c. *]rasoma pu(or: pra)ma ////* (269-85: Shatial-West) *Pl. 83*
34d. *vīrasomaḥ śurviḥ* (536-85: Shatial-East) *Pl. 84*
34e. *vīrasomaḥ paśyati* (28-85: Thalpan-Bridge) *Pl. 85*
34f. *vīrasomaḥ rājakīyaḥ* (29-85: Thalpan-Bridge) *Pl. 86*
The script of the inscriptions no. 34, 34a, 34b, 34c, 34d, 34e, 34f belongs to the same period, though the inscriptions have been written by different hands (cf. further *ādisoma*, below no. 46a).
The same text as in no. 34f occurs in Minargah:
34g. *vīrasomaḥ rājakīyaḥ* (Minargah I) *Pl. 87*

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TYPE 3c: It is not surprising that many titles occurring in the inscriptions refer to Buddhism:

Pl. 88 35. a: *vicarati dha(rma)vāṇaka śūra*
b: *carmavidaka(ma) +*
c: *vicarati dharmabhāṇaka (pā)la* (610-84/11/4: Oshibat)

The inscription is difficult to read. At the end of line *b* the first of the effaced *akṣaras* seems to be *ma*. The meaning of this line is obscure. Although the reading *ca* is fairly certain, *va* cannot be ruled out totally. Thus line *b* could go together with the name in line *a*: *śūravarma vidakama*(??). In line *c* the reading *pā* is probable.

Dharmavāṇaka for *-bhāṇaka* shows the same interchange between *-v-* and *-bh-*, as found in manuscript B of the Saṃghāṭasūtra as well[10], and thus points to a pronunciation *-ß-*.

Further, quoted above already:

Pl. 61 35a. *vicarati guṇasena dharmabhāṇaka* (615-84: Oshibat; = No. 19 above)

This title is found in the colophons of the Gilgit manuscripts, too: *dharmabhāṇaka narendradatta*, VI 14; *dharmabhāṇaka bhikṣu dhrarmendramati*, IX 12 and *mahādharmabhāṇaka ācārya bhikṣu krayādhana kalyāṇatrāta*, IX 11[11]

Further titles are:

Pl. 89 36. a: *(śr)* [*ī*] *buddhaguptasya*
b: *(bha)drabhikṣusya*
c: *beḍāko gato* (01/01-03: Shatial-West)

In spite of the fact that these three lines are written on a detached fragment of a boulder, nothing seems to be missing in front of the text. The restoration of the very first *akṣara* is fairly certain according to the traces still visible. The meaning of *beḍāko* is obscure.

37. *priyamitra bhikṣu* (178/83: Camp Site Road)

Pl. 90 37a. a: = 61a below.
b: *(radarvi)hā + priyamitrabhikṣu śrī ramaśūra* (08-02, 03, 06: Chilās V)

10 v. HINÜBER 1986, § 191; cf. further: *kueravahana* for *kuberavāhana*, DANI 1983, no. 111, and p. 82 below.

11 v. HINÜBER 1980. There is a further title (?) *aṣṭauli*, IX 13, of uncertain meaning.

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The beginning of the line *b* is difficult: Although it is certainly tempting to restore *vihāra*, this is ruled out by an uncertain character following *hā*: ꤕ . The *-ū-* in °*śūra* is of palaeographic interest, as it might be the only example, where two small parallel strokes indicate a long *-ū-*.

This monk is further mentioned in:

37b. *priyamitra bhikṣu* {++} (Chilās V) *Pl. 91*

It may have been the same monk that signed inscription no. 108, which is found next to no. 37a simply as *likhitaṃ priyamitreṇa*. It is, however, very doubtful, whether he is also identical with:

37c. *priyamitra ācārya* (Campsite I v.H. 143-83) *Pl. 92*

in an inscription above no. 22, and even a fourth *priyamitra* may have written the following inscription:

37d. a: # *devadharmo yaṃ (mitra)d(e)vaḥ śrī{(kumāra)} priyami*
b: *trasya* (Chilās V v.H. 711-85)

A third *bhikṣu* occurs in an inscription readable with difficulties only:

38. a: # *(ampa)nāthālaṃkṛ* *Pl. 93*
b: *ti bhikṣuṇa kṣa(ma)*
c: *vakaḥ*|| (581-85: Shatial-East)

The beginning of line *a* is obscure. A possible word division might be *ampa*(or alternatively: *amma)nāthă-alaṃkṛti*; *bhikṣuṇa* could be a mistake for *bhikṣuṇā*, but more probably *bhikṣuṇaḥ* has been intended by the scribe. The last word, perhaps a name, again is not clear, an alternative reading is *kṣapavakaḥ*, cf. *vaka*, no. 18 above.

An *ācārya* is mentioned again in one of the inscriptions accompanying the Tiger-Jātaka:

39. a: *(ka)*[*lyā*]*(ṇa)mittra ācārya* *Pl. 94*
b: *guttena* (85-83: Chilās I; cf. no. 75 below)

At Alam Bridge, two *upādhyāyas* are mentioned (FUSSMAN 1978, no. 21,16; 22,29), and at Chilās-Terrace a Hindu *upādhyāya*[12] is found (see below, no. 59).

12 Cf. the notes in HUMBACH 1980 on these inscriptions: *upādhyā*, 21,16 is not a haplography as stated by HUMBACH 1980: 105, but an old variant of this word, known to the language of the Pāli *vinaya* already: CPD s.v.; v. HINÜBER 1986, § 143.

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Buddhist laymen are named as well:

Pl. 95 40. a: # *devadharmo ya*
b: *śradho(!) upā(sa)*
c: *ka duga* + (269-83: Hodar)

Pl. 96 41. *mahaśrādhopāsaka* (594-84 = 344-85: Oshibat)

No. 41 is the second line of an inscription written in Proto-Śāradā, the lines one and three of which are hardly visible.

Further:

41a. a: # *vicarati śraddh*[*opā*]
b: *sakaṃ ya* + ///
c: *(varani)* (486-85: Minargah)

Again, parallels are found in the colophons: *mahāśraddhopāsaka*, *-ikā*: V 6; VII 1; VIII 1; X 1;, and on "Kaśmīr" bronze 30a a *paramopāsaka* and a *mahāsrāddhāyā paramopāsikyā* are mentioned (v. HINÜBER 1983: 61 note 41).

Once, a *gṛhapatiputra* occurs:

42. *grihapati(putra) s(i)gha* (384-83 = 587-85: Shatial-East)

However, not all who travelled along the Indus were necessarily Buddhists:

Pl. 97 43. *aśoka brahmaṇa* (598-85-15: Oshibat)

Pl. 98 44. a: *maheśvara*
b: *vinesāma vrāhmana*
c: ////*tu* (555-84 = 277/65 = Je 43:30, DANI 1983: 220, no. 178: Thalpan)

The interpretation of the inscription as a whole is not clear. Before *tu* in line *c* two *akṣaras* may be missing.

A similar inscription partly covered by a boulder is:

Pl. 99 44a. a: *vinesā*
b: *ma brahmaṇa* (529-85: Shatial-East)
c: *(śrī deva) sa* + (11/1: Shatial-East)

A further *brāhmaṇa* occurs at Hodar (271-83-7) in a context not yet deciphered.

The following inscription begins with one of the rare monograms:

Pl. 100 45. a: # *kaḍa vrā*
b: *hmaṇa*|| (11-85: Chilās I)

Possibly, neither *vinesāma* nor *kaḍa* are proper names but designations of certain classes of *brahmaṇas*; cf. *visāma vrāhmaṇaḥ*, DANI 1983, no. 177, line *b*.

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Further there are:

46. *aśokaḥ vipriḥ* (183-83: Camp Site)

Instead of *vipriḥ* the reading *vipreḥ* seems to be possible.

46a. *ādisomo bipraḥ* (Thalpan-Ziarat; DANI 1985a: Pl. III b), cf. nos. 34, 34a, b, c, d, e, f, g above. *Pl. 101*

47. a: # *nama vudhā* + *Pl. 102*

b: *(pu)rohita indradeva* (Shatial III 19-4)[13]

The last character in line *a* is completely misshaped, as if the scribe had forgotten the form of a *ya*.

Occasionally, the indication of a Hindu sect may be found:

48. *rāhuśarmaḥ vaiṣṇavaḥ* (654-84/18/91: Oshibat) *Pl. 103*

Names considered isolated, on the other hand, may be rather misleading when trying to ascertain the religion of a person:

49. a: *śrī viṣṇubhadrasya* *Pl. 104*

b: *dharmaviṣṇu(sya)* (221, 222-85: Shatial-West)

As here father and son(?) occur together, *dharmaviṣṇu*, too, seems to be a Hindu, while the name as such could be used by a Buddhist as well, if *dhaṃmasiva* : *dharmaśiva*, a donor at Sāñcī, is compared (HILKA 1910: 106).

TYPE 3d: These inscriptions, in which titles of officials or rulers are mentioned, are of exceptional interest. For they could shed at least some light on the local history of an area, about which next to nothing is known so far. At the same time, this is the main reason, why many a detail resists any interpretation. For in many places no parallel can be traced up to now as far as titles or names are concerned, which may partly belong to local languages such as old Ṣiṇā or Burushaski, about which nothing is known during the first millennium AD, if not to languages lost altogether. Further, it is not always easy to distinguish between an official title and a simple honorific conferred on the person mentioned. The latter may be true in the following inscription:

50. a: *(de)vadharmo yaṃ varu* *Pl. 105, 106*

b: *ṇeśvara bhaṭṭārakaṃ* (505-84: Thalpan)

13 Perhaps a *purohita* is mentioned in the colophons as well as *burohita*, I 19.

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The same person seems to be meant by another inscription found on the same boulder, the "altar rock", without *bhaṭṭāraka*:

Pl. 107, 108 51. *devadharmo yaṃ varuṇeśvarasya* (502-84: Thalpan)

As both inscriptions are not only written in the same small characters, but also very near to each other, it would be hard to believe that two persons bearing the same name have made donations here.

The same title or honorific occurs once more in an inscription written again in the same typical minute script. In this particular case, however, the decipherment has not yet been successful throughout the inscription:

52. a: *devadharmo yaṃ + (trava) vicitradevasya*| . . . . .

b: . . . . //*sā.e + na bhaṭṭārakasya*// . . . .

and further on after several illegible *akṣaras* in the same line *b*:

. . . // + + *ṇumayasya* ⌊⌐ *ama+ sya varuṇeśvarasya suśīlasya* (701-84 = 23-01-03: Chilās I)

Here, at the very end of the inscription, *varuṇeśvara* is met with once again. Perhaps the title, which is partly destroyed, which, however, may be restored very tentatively as *ama*[*tya*]*sya*, is to be connected with *varuṇeśvara*, if the symbol ⌊⌐ is equivalent to the double *daṇḍa* separating names in this inscription.

Finally, a *bhaṭāraka*(!) occurs together with a partly effaced, though certainly non-Sanskritic name out of further context (185-83: Camp Site)[14].

Some *kṣatrapas* are mentioned:

Pl. 109 53. a: *paramabhaṭṭāraka kṣatravasya*

b: *brahmavarmasya* (264-83: Hodar)

Pl. 110 54. *(śrī) kṣatrapa + ghabhadra* (198-85: Shatial-West)

It is not clear whether *bhadra* or *bhardra* is written. The name could be restored as [*saṃ*]*ghabha(r)dra*.

Pl. 111 54a. *kṣatrava jayasena* (312-85: Harban-East)

Finally, a monastery (*vihāra*) connected to a *kṣatrapa* seems to be mentioned:

Pl. 112 54b. *(bha)drara(jñ)aṃ kṣatravavihāraḥ* (305-83: Gichigah)

The interpretation of the first *akṣara* is doubtful. Though it is clearly legible, the second one may be *ḍa*, or *dra* rather.

14 On the title *bhaṭṭāraka*: v. HINÜBER 1980: 57.

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As *brahmavarma* is *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, he seems to have enjoyed a fairly independent position. Unfortunately, these *kṣatrapas* cannot be connected to any known family or to any specific region. Further, a few noblemen are mentioned:

55. *rājaputra vaṣoṭa* (599-84: Oshibat) *Pl. 113*

The name ending in *-oṭa* favours a local origin of this nobleman.

56. a: *+ + (siṃha)sya/////*
    b: *+ rajaputra(!)*
    c: *+ + + +*
    d: *rudaya*
    e: *śrī goṇa*
    f: *+dasya* (373-375-83: Shatial)

The reading *siṃha* in line *a* is highly conjectural; the stone is broken after *sya*, thus the end of the line cannot be recognized as such.

Rājaputras are mentioned in the Danyor inscription; in two colophons (I 10 and X 1) and in the inscription of "Kaśmīr" bronze no. 31 (v. HINÜBER 1983: 62 note 44) a *rājñī*, and finally a *rājaduhitṛ* (bronze no. 30: v. HINÜBER 1983: 61 note 41) occur as donors.

The title *dārapati* occurs twice:

57. a: *kīrtibhūṣaṇa bhaṭṭa paramīśvara* *Pl. 114*
    b: *dārapati sakalaśca* (680-84: Chilās)

57a. *divirasuta pūrṇa dārapati* (647-84 = DANI 1983: 227, no. 191: Thalpan-Ziarat; = No. 26a above) *Pl. 69*

In no. 57 two persons seem to be mentioned: *kīrtibhūṣaṇa*, an independent ruler according to his title, and his(?) *dārapati*, whose name cannot be ascertained with confidence. A nominative ending combined in *sandhi* with *ca* seems possible, though not very probable given the lack of a grammatical conscience evident everywhere in these inscriptions. After *śca*, which might be read as *śva* perhaps, there could have been a *ra* once, though the vertical stroke visible on the stone seems to be accidental rather. Therefore a name *sakalaśvara* (mistake for *sakaleśvara*??) cannot be ruled out altogether. Although *sakaleśvara* occurs as a name, the palaeographic evidence supports *sakalaśca*.

In no. 57a the reading *-suta* is not beyond doubt, as *muta* is possible. However, *mahāprabhu* as read by DANI for *suta pūrṇa* can

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be discarded as impossible. *Pūrṇa* occurs as a name in Buddhist texts.

[In the meantime v. HINÜBER has decided to read here not *dārapati* but *dānapati*, with obvious consequences for the following text. – K. Jettmar]

In the Rājataraṅgiṇī, *dvārapati* is mentioned as the title of a high official of special importance as guardian of the ancient state of Kaśmīr. The exact meaning of this word, "lord of the gate", that is of the passes leading into Kaśmīr has been established by A. STEIN on Rājataraṅgiṇī V 214. Besides *dvārapati* other forms of this title such as *dvārādhipa*, *dvāreśa* etc. are found as well, and therefore no discussion of the apparently certain Sanskritic origin of this word seems to have been felt necessary. Now, the inscriptions clearly indicate an Iranian origin by the form *dārapati*, the *-ā-* of which might be due to a beginning Indisation of the term. Thus *dārapati/dvārapati* belongs to a group of terms of government borrowed from Sassanian terminology. They may be found in the Ka'aba-i-Zardusht inscription of Shāpūr I, (240–270) in Middle Persian and Parthian: *dlpty* : *brypty* : *darapati* : *barapati*; *dpyrpt*: *dpyrwpt* : *dibīroft* and *gnzwbr* : *gnzbr* : *ganzevar*[15]. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī the corresponding terms are *dvārapati*, *divirapati*, *gañjavara*. From inscriptions and manuscripts *ṣāhi*, *ṣāhānu ṣāhi* (SHASTRI 1939: 11, plate 1443, D 1 and 3), *kṣatraṣāhi* (see below no. 63), *kṣatrapa* (see above no. 53, 54, 54a, 54b) and *haṃmārapati* (v. HINÜBER 1981: 167, XI a–c) may be added. Further, it may be worth while noticing that *gañjavara* does not occur in the inscriptions, where the same official is called *gaṃjapati* (below on no. 62), which seems to be without immediate Iranian model.

At present it is not possible to draw conclusions from the presence of *dārapatis* "lords of the gates(passes)" near Chilās. *Kīrtibhūṣaṇa* may have been a local ruler or a Kaśmīrian, whose duty it was to protect the passes leading into Kaśmīr. Here it may be recalled that there is plenty of evidence in the Rājataraṅgiṇī that it were

15 For reference see BACK 1978: 352, 364f. and LUKONIN 1983: 711. The Iranian titles have been discussed in v. HINÜBER 1986a.

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first of all the Dards who posed a serious threat to the rulers of Kaśmīr time and again.

No. 57a shows that sons of scribes, or scribes, if *-putra* is considered as kind of a suffix, could rise to important and powerful positions as in Kaśmīr, not always to the advantage of the government as described by Kalhaṇa in the Rājataraṅgiṇī V 177 foll. for instance.

The title *bhaṭṭāraka* occurs further in:

58. a: *śrī indrabhaṭṭārakasya śatrudamana* *Pl. 115*
    b: *namo dharmamitra*
    c: *# vīradatasya*
    d: *kulajaya* (DANI 1983: 72, no. 55; DANI 1985a: 227: Khomar, west of Thalpan-Ziarat)

The relation, if any, between the lines *a* and *b* is difficult to determine. *Namo*, written in smaller characters, may be the beginning of an unfinished inscription rather without any connection to the following *dharmamitra*. Both titles, *indrabhaṭṭāraka*, if not a name, and *śatrudamana* may refer to *dharmamitra*, an obviously Buddhist name.

After *vīradatasya* there are traces of perhaps four *akṣaras* faintly visible on the photograph read as *thoranasya* by DANI, what, of course, needs checking on the spot.

To the left side of the *stūpa* the word or words *kula* or *kulo jaya* of uncertain meaning can be read, which occur elsewhere, mostly on top of inscribed boulders.

Up to now the word *śatrudamana* was known from grammatical literature (*Gaṇapāṭha*) only. It occurs again without further context:

58a. *śattrudamani(!)rāja* (330-85: Thalpan-Village)

This honorific was a favourite of Vaiśravaṇasena:

59. a: *śatrudavano (yā)du śrī daranmahāraja vaiśravaṇaseno śatrudamanaḥ* *Pl. 116–118*
    b: *śatrudavano rājā*
    c: *śrīr daranmahārājavaiśrava*
    d: *ṇasenopaddhyāyo rudraśrarma a(va)rdīviṣaye pratiṣṭhitaḥ* (660-85, DANI 1983: 74, no. 57; DANI 1985a: 227f.: Chilās-Terrace)

In spite of the fact that DANI (1983) gives a complete reading of this inscription, which, however, is one *akṣara* short, the inter-

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pretation of the script offers considerable difficulties because of the highly ornamental characters used, which are to be classified as "shell-script" (cf. SALOMON 1983, 1985)[16].

Both, lines *a* and *b* begin with an identical character, which can be identified easily with as *śa*, which becomes much clearer in line *b*, when examining the stone itself. The second characters are identical as well: *tru*, as the hook attached to the flourish evidently is an *-u-* added to a subscript *-r-*, cf. *tru* as written in no. 59a.d. The reading *śatru* paves the way to an understanding of the next three *akṣaras*: *davano* in line *b*, and probably in line *a* as well. Here, however, *va* is not certain because of its peculiar shape and the 5th character looks like *nna* rather than *no*, which again is very clear in line *b*. In front of *śrī* there are two *akṣaras* in line *a*, the 6th and 7th, the second of which should be *da*, when compared to the 3rd in line *a*, with a subscript *-ŭ-*(?). The 6th *akṣara* could be *yā* or *ghā*. As neither reading *yādu* nor *ghādu* makes sense, the correct interpretation of these two characters is still to be found.

A minor problem of decipherment is posed in line *d*, where the first limb of the compound ending in *°viṣaye* is not clear. When checking the inscription on the spot, the 1st and the 3rd *akṣara* can be read with some confidence as *a* and *rdī* respectively. In the middle there may be *va* rather than *ca*: *a(va)rdīviṣaye*.

In the first line the *daran-mahārāja* "great king of the Dards" is mentioned. His name *vaiśravaṇasena* is Sanskrit as are the names of those Dard kings mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī: *Acalamaṅgala*, *Jagaddala*, *Maṇidhara*, *Yaśodhara*; only *Viḍḍasīha* bears a different, perhaps hybrid name, if *-sīha* is equivalent to *siṃha*, so very common in the inscriptions.

Although the inscription has been written by one hand only, what becomes evident in the non-ornamental parts, the syntactic connection among the lines is far from being clear. Perhaps lines *a*, *b* can be understood as: "The subduer of enemies ..., the glorious (*śrī*) great king of the Dards, Vaiśravaṇasena, the subduer of

16 Literature on ornamental Brāhmī and "shell inscriptions" may be found conveniently collected by MUKHERJEE 1985; cf. also SALOMON 1985.

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enemies, the king, who is a subduer of enemies". If the first part of the inscriptions really ends here, the following epigraph by the same king may be compared:

59a. a: *daratsu mahā* *Pl. 119*

b: *rāja*

c: *śrī vaiśravaṇasena*

d: *śśatrudamanaḥ* (23-85: Thalpan Bridge)

"The glorious Vaiśravaṇasena, the subduer of enemies, great king in the land of the Dards". This inscription, found directly by the northern bank of the Indus immediately below the modern bridge connecting Chilās and Thalpan, seems to mark the border of the territory by Vaiśravaṇasena.

It is not without interest to note that we find here skt. °*damana* side by side with °*davana* influenced by Gāndhārī (v. HINÜBER 1986, § 210).

Lines 59 c, d may be translated as: "The teacher of the glorious (*śrī*) Vaiśravaṇasena, great king of the Dards, Rudraśarma, is firmly established in the district Avardī". The name Rudraśarma, written here with Dardic metathesis of liquids as *rudraśrarma* and thus showing Gāndhārī influence again, points to a Śaiva (HILKA 1910: 144). He seems to have held some kind of office in a district (*viṣaya*), the name of which is not beyond doubt, and no identification can be proposed at present. As a public announcement of this kind would make much sense if written down on a rock of the respective district, *avardī* should be an ancient name of Chilās or rather of its environment. For Chilās itself seems to be ruled out, as the old name is known to have been *śīlathasa* from the Saka itinerary and *Shiltās* from Al-Bīrūnī's India in the 10/11th centuries (BAILEY 1968: 70.15; STEIN 1900: 363).

This inscription, however, is by far older than these sources. Even as no date is given, the palaeography seems to point to the 4/5th centuries AD. Thus the king *vaiśravaṇasena* is at the same time the second oldest king of the Dards known by name, preceded only by the *daradaraya* mentioned at Alam Bridge in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription (FUSSMAN 1978, no. 5,7). It should be noticed that the script of that Kharoṣṭhī inscription poses palaeographical problems comparable to those met with when deciphering no. 59.

To the right of line *c* and not visible on the plate showing no. 59 there are two lines of writing connected to no. 59:

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Pl. 120 59b. a: *likhita(ṃ) mayā rājaputre*
b: *na(!) vaiśravaṇavasenaḥ*(!) (330-83 = 661-85, DANI 1983: 74; DANI 1985 a: 229: Chilās-Terrace)
"Written by myself, the *rājaputra Vaiśravaṇasena*".
This is to confirm the official character of the inscription.
Very near to this stone there are more inscriptions of Vaiśravaṇasena:
60. *v*[*ai*]*ś*[*r*]*avaṇaseno rāja* (673-85: Chilās-Terrace)
60a. *śrī vaiśravaṇasenasya* (674-85: Chilās-Terrace)
This stone is situated immediately to the right of stone no. 19 bearing the inscriptions nos. 59, 59b.
Very near again there are dedicatory inscriptions written by the side of the drawing of a *stūpa*.
Pl. 121 60b. *śrī vaiśravaṇasenasya* (680-85: Chilās-Terrace)
Pl. 121 60c. *śrī vaiśravaṇadasa* (681-85: Chilās-Terrace)
Pl. 121 60d. *śrī vajrā* (682-85: Chilās-Terrace)
Pl. 121 60e. *mātyidāsa* (683-85: Chilās-Terrace)
Only nos. 60 b, c, d are written by the same hand, while no. 60 e, where the interpretation of *mātyidasa* is not clear, has been added by a different scribe. This means that 60d has been left unfinished by the scribe, as it breaks off in the middle of a word. Tempting as it may be to complete no. 60d as *vajrā*[*dityanandi*] (v. HINÜBER 1980: 56), this would be a rather hazardous guess. Although similar unfinished inscriptions do occur occasionally, it is striking that there are at least two incomplete inscriptions, which may be attributed to Vaiśravaṇasena:
Pl. 122 61. *śrī vaiśra* (91-83: Chilās I)
This inscription is found not too far away from the Tiger-Jātaka.
And:
Pl. 90 61a. a: *śrī vaiśruve* (754-85: Chilās V)
Pl. 90 b: = 37a
There are two lines of cancelled *akṣaras* to the right of no. 61a.a.
The scribe of no. 60b and no. 61, 61a may be identical because of the very characteristic shape of the character *va*: .
However, tempting it may be to identify this *vaiśravaṇasena* with the king of the Dards mentioned in nos. 59, 60, there are some difficulties: No title is given here, which might mean that the donation was made before *vaiśravaṇasena* became king, or, alternatively, that he laid down his titles when acting as a pious

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Buddhist thus becoming a simple layman, just as *śrī navasurendrāditya* appears without any title in a *dhāraṇī* written to protect the king (v. HINÜBER 1981: 166, Nr. VIII, IX)[17]. Secondly, his *upādhyāya* seems to have been Śaiva. The brahmins performing rituals for Buddhist kings are by no means unheard of; neither this nor the dropping of the title can be confirmed from contemporary sources though. Therefore the identity of *vaiśravaṇasena* remains somewhat doubtful as does the relation of the possibly three persons mentioned here; *Vaiśravaṇadasa* should be a relative, perhaps a son or brother of *vaiśravaṇasena*. Both names refer to Vaiśravaṇa, the guardian deity of the north, which enjoyed high popularity especially in Khotan (HÔBÔGIRIN s.v. *Bishamon*; GROPP 1974: 362foll.; JERA-BEZARD 1976; KLIMBURG-SALTER 1981).

Not too far away from Chilās-Terrace at Chilās I, a second inscription of considerable historical importance has been seen and photographed by A. STEIN as early as 1942 (STEIN 1944: plate Va):

62. a: *ṣāhi śrī vajraśūra* *Pl. 123*
b: *dhanavahana*
c: *mahāmatya gikisiṇa*
d: *mahāgaṃjapati khāyā*
e: *kaṃ dutaṃvuruṣa | akṣapaṭāli sukatna*
f: *mahneka | anya(rari) amṛtava(raśi)ladha(ma) divira dhuma(sa)na* (60-83, DANI 1983: 84, no. 63: Chilās I)

In front of line *c* there are two lines probably to be separated from the main body of the inscription:

62a. a: *(thādhahela)* *Pl. 124*
b: *siṃgha* (60-83: Chilās I)

Line *b* is written in much smaller characters than line *a*, the reading of which is highly conjectural.

To the right side of no. 62 there are again four lines of writing in small characters:

62b. a: *rājaputra siṃghaśūra* *Pl. 125*
b: *rājaputra vyāghraśūra*

17 In these *dhāraṇīs*, I misread °*hṛdayagarbhe* as °*hṛdayagatte*, as pointed out by G. SCHOPEN, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens 29, 1985: 142.

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c: *rājaputra vyā(ghra)śū(ra)*
d: *ṣāha nīlapa(ti)ya(jya).ya* (60-83: Chilās I)

Line *c* is a mere repetition of line *b*. There is no obvious connection with no. 62, from which no. 62b is separated by vertical strokes, and the script of all four lines is much smaller in no. 62b than in no. 62. In spite of this fact DANI (1983: 84) has mixed up both inscriptions.

The structure of the names ending in °*śūra* may indicate that these *rājaputras* are relatives of Vajraśūra.

The interpretation of line *d* is not clear.

In the main inscription, no. 62, there are some doubtful readings in the lines *e*, *f*. The *akṣara* read as *hne* tentatively in line *f* may well be *hre* or even *hue*. The rest of line *f* following *mahneka* does not make much sense except for the well known word *divira* emerging from otherwise at least at present meaningless *akṣaras*.

While the name of the ruler clearly is Sanskrit, the language of all other names remains obscure at present. The occurrence of *vuruṣa*, however, may hint at an early form of Burushaski, if it is taken to be equivalent to Burusho. If this should prove to be correct, more Burushaski names are found near to this inscription on the same rock:

Pl. 126 62c. *sayatāṃ puruṣa maṃgalasela* (631-85: Chilās I)
to which may be compared: *sāitāpuruṣa vargasighena*, colophon IX 17 (v. HINÜBER 1980: 67),

Pl. 127 62d. *(adma)puruṣa masuto* (654-85: Chilās I)

Pl. 128 62e. *////pa*(or: *pu*)*trasa* [*pu*]*ruṣa////* (646-85: Chilās I)

Pl. 129 62f. a: *dhiṇisu puruṣa khukha*
b: *si*[*gha*] (657-85: Chilās I)

and further from the colophons: *chchāḍipuruṣe sithusighena*, colophon IX 5 and *.āṃ puruṣena gakhrapatināṃ*, colophon VII 7.

It is of special interest that *khukhasigha* is found here, as this might point to all *khukha*° names occurring in the colophons and elsewhere (v. HINÜBER 1980: 73foll., index)[18] being possibly Burushaski. The same would hold good for the *gakhra*° names.

18 My earlier view about these names as expressed in v. HINÜBER 1980: 74, where I took them tentatively as titles, needs revision.

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As far as the structure of these names is concerned, besides names of four syllables such as *gikisiṇa* or the *divira dhumasana*, some have only three syllables: *khāyākaṃ dutaṃvuruṣa*, *sukatna mahneka* or, from the colophons *khavāṣa*, *mākhrari*, *vibhali* (v. HINÜBER 1980: 72foll., index). Further, the frequency of words ending in *-āṃ* is striking.

On the same rock there are two further lines relevant in our context:

63. a: *kṣatraṣāhi vajranandi* *Pl. 130*

d: *kṣatripuruṣa huko////* (634, 637-85, DANI 1983: 86, no. 65: Chilās I)

No attempt has been made to interprete lines *b*, *c*, *e*, *f* visible on Pl. 130 as well. In line *d* the name, which might be Burushaski as well, is partly broken away. Again only the name Vajranandi gives a hint to a possible connection to the *ṣāhi śrī vajraśūra*, whose prominent position in the inscription underlined by the unusual big characters indicates that he was a ruler, if only of local importance, as he is neither *paramabhaṭṭāraka* nor *parameśvara* etc. If *vajranandi* belongs to the same family, and if he is a contemporary of *vajraśūra*, what is possible according to the script, he might have been the son of the ruler, as he is not even *śrī* bearing a title inferior to *ṣāhi śrī*. On the other hand the *rājaputras siṃghaśūra* and *vyāghraśūra* may have been the brothers of the ruler. Of course this suggestion remains a highly conjectural explanation of those titles and names, as it may be argued as well that the persons mentioned in no. 62b are the sons, and those in 63 the brothers of Vajraśūra, although the structure of the names seems to support the first alternative rather.

Side by side with the ruler some officials are mentioned in no. 62. The first is *dhanavahana*, an otherwise unknown title, it seems, which might qualify *mahāmātya*, and DANI (1983: 84 note 38) may be right in suggesting some possible connection to finances. The office of a *mahāgaṃjapati* "great treasurer", which occurs again in an inscription at Shatial-West (268-85 = 04-02), has been separated here from that of the *mahāmātya*. Both titles have been conferred on the same person, Makarasiṃha, in the Hātūn inscription. And further, the donor of the "Kaśmīr"

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bronze no. 30 is the *mahāgaṃjapati saṃkaraseṇa*[19]. The *akṣapaṭāli*, whose title usually occurs as *akṣapaṭalika*, is the chief of the records office and the *divira*, of course, is the scribe.

In remarkable contrast to the evidence of the "Kaśmīr" bronzes or the inscriptions found at Hātūn and Danyor, where the *mahākṣapaṭalādhikṛta* is named *narendra*, all names of officials are of non-Sanskritic origin. This might point to a political as well as cultural difference between the "Sanskritised" *paṭola ṣāhis* and the perhaps local rulers of Chilās.

The chronological relation between these two ruling houses, which were both Buddhists, is still more difficult to establish. The script used by *vajraśūra* and *vajranandi* points to a rather late date, contemporary perhaps with the Danyor inscription of 730/31 AD(?), if not to an even later date. Thus they may well have been the local successors of the *paṭola ṣāhis*, or they may have been ruling at a time, when *jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi* of the Danyor inscription had lost some of the important titles of independent rulers still in the possession of his predecessors.

The evidence on the *paṭola ṣāhi* dynasty with at least seven kings and eight queens known so far, which has been discussed at some length elsewhere (v. HINÜBER 1985), has been added to recently, when an inscription[20] was found referring to this dynasty by K. JETTMAR in 1983:

Pl. 131 64. *śrī palola ṣāhi surendrādityanandi(s sarva)dharmoyaṃ* (265-83: Hodar)

This king should be identical with *surendrāditya*, a name reconstructed from the T'ang Annals and ruling approximately between 720 and 725 AD as the last ruler certainly belonging to this dynasty (v. HINÜBER 1983: 63), for the affiliation of

19 v. HINÜBER 1983: 61 note 41; CHAKRAVARTI and PAL both misread this word as *gaja-* when editing the Hātūn inscription and the "Kaśmīr" bronze no. 31 respectively. The reading *gaṃja* has been doubted without reason by PAUL 1986: 231f.; besides, in a land, where there are no elephants, the title "lord of the elephants" does not make much sense.

20 In 1985 a very badly rubbed off inscription was discovered by V. THEWALT, which contains a further name of the *paṭola ṣāhis* yet to be deciphered.

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jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi mentioned in the Danyor inscription is by no means beyond doubt.

Besides the confirmation that the name has been reconstructed correctly from Chinese by Chavannes, the phonetic shape of the name of the dynasty, which occurs here for the first time as *palola*, is highly important, for it brings the name of the dynasty much nearer phonetically to P'u-lü or Bolor, the ancient name of the region. Moreover, attention should be drawn to an occasional interchange between *-r-* and *-l-* as in:

65. a: # *devadharmo yaṃ lo(vata)* *Pl. 132, 133*
    b: *śūloṭasya*
    c: *pragaśa lovata*
    d: *śūroṭe* (226-229-83: Hodar)

Lovata, line *c*, has been written by a different hand. The form *śūloṭa* occurs more often besides *śūroṭa* at Hodar. The same sound change could account for Bolor : *palola* (cf. *lāja*, no. 106 below).

Further it is very tempting now to connect the *palolaja bhikṣus* mentioned at Alam Bridge[21] to the *paṭola/palola ṣāhi* dynasty, which would at the same time strengthen the close relations between the kings and the Buddhist *saṃgha*.

The reading *(sarva)dharma* in no. 64 is not beyond doubt; it is certainly not *devadharma*, and the meaning of *sarvadharma* if read correctly here escapes an interpretation at present.

Finally a further suspected member of this family may be mentioned besides the drawing of a *pūrṇaghaṭa*:

66. # *śrī saṃpūrṇādityanandinā* (678-84, DANI 1983: 239: Thalpan) *Pl. 134*

The structure of the name ending in *-ādityanandin* seems to be a strong indication that the person referred to may be a member of this family in spite of the fact that no title is mentioned, especially if *śrī daranmahārāja vaiśravaṇasena* and *śrī vaiśravaṇasena*, above nos. 59, 60, a, b, c, d are compared. Thus *saṃpūrṇādityanandin* either is a ninth king of this dynasty, who, if this is

21 FUSSMAN 1978, no. 26,3, cf. HUMBACH 1980 on this inscription.

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true, could have been the predecessor of *nandivikramādityanandi* ruling at the end of the 7th century AD, or, more probably, he was a non-ruling member of the dynasty.

The last inscription of historical importance to be discussed here, has been discovered by Dr. Adam NAYYAR, Director of the National Institute for Folk Heritage, Islamabad, in Shigar/ Baltistan in October 1984. It is the only metrical inscription found up to now written in the *śikhāriṇī* metre: *ya*: ◡ — — / *ma*: — — — / *na*: ◡ ◡ ◡ / *sa*: ◡ ◡ — / *bha*: — ◡ ◡ / *la*: ◡ *ga*: — :

Pl. 135 67. a: *ayaṃ ga* — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ *tagaṇḍākaṭhiṇanaṃ* :

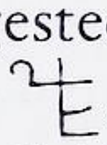
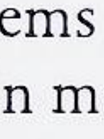
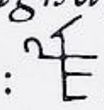
b: *asāsaṃ(cū)tānn(ā)viṣayapati kuñjāna nṛpatiḥ*

c: *punar dattaṃ gaṇḍīnarapatisutaṃ pṛtimanasaḥ*

d: *anenāyaṃ heto bhavatu tanaye loka*

e: *guraveḥ*

f: *kṛti buddhabala* (Shigar)

The first *akṣara* filling the gap in line *a* should be a ligature, as the preceding syllable should be metrically long. At the end of line *a* the *akṣara* read as *ṭhi* is not beyond doubt. However, a comparison with the *va* in *bhavatu* or *gurave*, both written in a more longish shape, seems to favour *ṭhi* without ruling out *vi*. The *-i* is written again as a full circle in *kṛti*. The last *akṣara* in line *a* is a flat *na*, more archaic than the *na* occurring again in two different shapes with a flat "roof" in *anenāyaṃ*, and with a pointed "roof" in *kuñjāna*. The fourth *akṣara* in line *b* seems to be *cū*, although no second *ca* is found for comparison in this inscription. Any other *akṣara*, however, seems to be ruled out. As a long syllable is required by the metre in this position, the only possible vowel seems to be *-ū*. The damaged ligature *nn*, rather than *tt* or *nt*, ends in an upward stroke at the right top side, which, though blurred, can hardly be anything else but *-ā*. In spite of the somewhat different shape of the *ka* or *ku*, if *kaṭhiṇana* or *loka* are compared, the suggested reading seems to be justified. The following *akṣara* is *ñja*  , cf.  *ñja* in manuscript B 71a7 and *ñjā* in manuscript C 18b7 of the *Saṃghāṭasūtra*. The long *-ā* is written as a stroke, compare *anenāyaṃ* :  .

The interpretation of the inscription, the reading of which does not pose any serious problem, remains difficult though, because of unidentified names and first of all because of a remarkable lack in grammatical endings, what may be due to the difficulties

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experienced by Buddhabala, when handling this comparatively complicated metre.

Thus, lines *d–f* may be translated tentatively as: "By this (*anena*) this (*ayaṃ*) purpose should be achieved: There should be offspring for the teacher in the world. The work of Buddhabala".

The grammar is far from being satisfactory: *heto* obviously stands for *hetur*, *kṛti* for *kṛtir*, *buddhabala* for *buddhabalasya*, *tanaye* for *tanayo* or *tanayaṃ*. The word *bhavatu* may read twice according to the *kākākṣigolakanyāya*.

It is common practice in inscriptions to use the word *kṛti* to indicate the author of verses, who, in this particular case, should have been a Buddhist monk, perhaps a member of the *sthavira* school, as his name ends in *-bala* (HILKA 1910: 146).

In lines *a–c* two, if not three persons may be mentioned: a *viṣayapati*, a *nṛpati* and a *nṛpatisuta*. However, *asāsaṃcūtānnā* may be the name of a *viṣaya* rather than of a person. Therefore, the *nṛpati kuñjāna* seems to have been the *viṣayapati* of the district.

In line *c* a further person may emerge, the son of a *narapati*. If so, his name was *gaṇḍī*. Unfortunately, it is impossible to decide, whether or not *gaṇḍī* is a name or whether it simply means "gong". As this crucial question cannot be answered, the object of the gift escapes us at present. Two possible translations can be suggested: "The gong has been given back by the son of the (or: a) king, pleased in mind" or, alternatively: "the son of the king, Gaṇḍī, has been given back, pleased in mind". Normally, grammatical consideration would answer this question at once. In this inscription, however, *-aṃ* seems to be used as a kind of universal ending giving no hint at all to the interrelation of the words in this sentence. Line *a* starts: "This is the *ga. . .tagaṇḍākaṭhiṇana*".

When trying to put the whole inscription together, one might translate as follows: "This is the *ga. . . .tagaṇḍākaṭhiṇana*, the lord of the district *asāsaṃcūtānnā*, king *kuñjāna*: Gaṇḍī, the son of the king (or: the gong by the son of the/a king) has been given back, pleased in mind. By this, this purpose should be achieved: may there be offspring for the teacher of the world. The work of Buddhabala".

If the son of the king has been given back, evidently to the *saṃgha*, the last sentence makes good sense: may there be many sons of

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the Buddha. In this case, the inscription might commemorate the fulfilment of a vow. If, on the other hand, a gong has been donated to a monastery, only one person may be mentioned in the inscription, as *narapatisuta* may well be synonymous with *narapati*. A decision does not seem possible.

In spite of the fact that *kuñjāna* is called *nṛpati*, he was the governor of a district most probably, and consequently he is neither *bhaṭṭāraka* nor *parameśvara* etc. He may have been the ruler of Shigar nevertheless, as this has been a petty state subordinate to Skardu (Skar-rdo) (THOMAS 1935: 151).

Unfortunately no date is given in the inscription. On palaeographical reasons – the old, flat *na* occurring in line *a* and the tripartite *ya* – any date later than the 7th century AD may be ruled out, and even the 6th century seems to be quite possible.

The last inscription discussed here furnishes an excellent example of the difficulties met with when trying to interprete inscriptions found in those remote area, on which hardly any historical background knowledge is available. Names of uncertain origin and meaning combined with a remarkable lack in grammatical proficiency or want of context, create serious obstacles for a translation even of those inscriptions, which may be read with relative ease. Further research, it is hoped, and first of all a systematic survey of the complete material available will lead to the clarification of those rather many passages not yet fully understood.

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OSKAR VON HINÜBER

BUDDHISTISCHE INSCHRIFTEN AUS DEM TAL DES OBEREN INDUS*

(Inschriften Nr. 68–109)

Seit dem überraschenden Handschriftenfund von Naupur, einem Ortsteil von Gilgit, ist für das Gebiet des oberen Indus ein lebendiger Buddhismus in der zweiten Hälfte des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausends endgültig nachgewiesen[1]. Vor einigen Jahren nun sind zu diesen literarischen Zeugen zahlreiche Inschriftenfunde getreten, deren besonderer buddhistischer Charakter vor allem in den Fundorten Chilās und Thalpan zutage tritt, die einander auf der linken, bzw. rechten Seite des Indus, heute durch *Pl. 194, 195* eine neue, 1984 fertiggestellte Brücke verbunden gegenüberliegen. Die Inschriften werden an diesen beiden Orten nicht selten durch Felszeichnungen von beachtlichem künstlerischen Wert begleitet. Um so auffälliger ist daher das völlige Fehlen von Hinweisen auf Bauwerke wie Stūpas oder Vihāras. Weiter im Norden läßt sich beides nachweisen. Neben die seit langem aus Gilgit-Naupur bekannten Stūpas[2] treten neuerdings die von Dr. Adam NAYYAR, dem Direktor des Institute of Folk Heritage in Islamabad, und Karl JETTMAR 1984 entdeckten Baureste aus Shigar im Norden von Skardu.

* Die Inschriften Nr. 1–67 sind veröffentlicht in: Brāhmī Inscriptions on the History and Culture of the Upper Indus Valley, oben S. 41–71. Auf diesen Aufsatz wird hier durch die entsprechende Inschriftennummer verwiesen. Zur Erklärung der verwendeten Zeichen ist die einleitende Anmerkung zu diesem Aufsatz zu vergleichen.

1 v. HINÜBER 1983; daß Naupur ein Ortsteil von Gilgit ist, stellt JETTMAR 1981: 309 und 1981a: 4 richtig.

2 Zur Charakterisierung des Bauwerks: JETTMAR 1981 und 1981a.

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In diesem Zusammenhange verdient es wohl Erwähnung, daß bisher allein aus der Nähe von Skardu eine Inschrift bekanntgeworden ist, in der ein Kloster erwähnt wird[3]:

Pl. 136 68. a: *navasaṃghārāmasaṃgasya*
b: *idocakṣetriḥtraiṃviṃśa(stapā) saṃgharakṣita iha saṃprāptaḥ*
c: *viśeṣa śrī dharma////*
d: *(śrī dha)rmasama(ya)varma* (Katsura)

Der Mittelteil der Inschrift entzieht sich zunächst noch einer Deutung, vor allem, da die vorgeschlagenen Lesungen, auch *traiṃ* und *viṃ*, keineswegs als völlig sicher gelten dürfen. Der Anfang der Zeile *b* läßt sich vielleicht in *ido ca kṣetriḥ* auflösen, wenn *ido* für *ito* stehen kann, vgl. *burohida*, Kolophon I 19 (v. HINÜBER 1980: 53) für *purohita*, und man daher „und von dort" übersetzen darf. Wenn das folgende Wort *kṣetriḥ* lautet, könnte man *kṣetrī* vermuten, das hier jedoch kaum die gewöhnliche Bedeutung „Feldbesitzer, Ehemann" haben kann. Als mögliche Bedeutung, die sich jedoch nicht absichern läßt, könnte man hier „durch ein (Kloster-)Grundstück gekennzeichnet", „Insasse eines bestimmten Klosters"(?) vermuten. Da sich nun zu den semantischen auch syntaktische Schwierigkeiten gesellen, bleibt der Vorschlag wenig wahrscheinlich, besonders, da sich die folgenden *akṣaras* nicht deuten lassen.

Wo der „neue Saṃghārāma", aus dem der Mönch Saṃgharakṣita kam, lag, wird sich kaum je ermitteln lassen.

Die übrigen, auf der Tafel 136 erkennbaren Inschriften bedürfen auch vor einer vorläufigen Lesung der Überprüfung am Stein, wie beispielsweise die beiden, rechts über der Inschrift Nr. 68 stehenden Zeilen:

Pl. 136 68a. a: *dharmadūtṛ namo*
b: *dharmadūtṛ̆ + iśū////* (Katsura)

Trotz recht klarer Lesbarkeit bleibt *dūtṛ̆* undeutbar. Nach der Fotografie scheint es so, als ob der Stein nach *iśū* gebrochen und damit die Fortsetzung der Inschrift verloren sei.

Im Raume Chilās–Thalpan könnte das Fehlen von Überresten buddhistischer Bauwerke in Erdbeben, deren gewaltige Vernich-

3 Die Inschrift befindet sich in unmittelbarer Nähe des Shangrila Tourist Resort, in dessen Prospekt sie abgebildet ist.

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tungskraft etwa in Thalpan an einer großen Geröllhalde mit umgestürzten Steinblöcken, auf denen Bildwerke nun auf dem Kopf stehend abgebildet sind, noch deutlich abzulesen ist, im Verein mit Flutwellen des Indus begründet sein. Bereits M.A. STEIN hat jedoch vermutet, daß die Felszeichnungen von Stūpas als ein Ersatz für Votivstūpas gedeutet werden können (STEIN 1944 nach JETTMAR 1980: 164). So scheint es denkbar, daß von Anfang an die Kultobjekte eben die Felsbilder waren, die nur hier Buddhas, Bodhisatvas und kunstvolle Stūpas in großer Zahl zeigen. Wirklich Vergleichbares fehlt an anderen Orten. Die Bilder von Shatial[4] oder Hodar gehören zu einem anderen Typ, und der Kargah-Buddha bei Gilgit-Naupur steht als Flachrelief in einer anderen Tradition[5]. Der Grund für den Verzicht auf aufwendige Bauwerke könnte darin zu suchen sein, daß die Buddhisten sich am oberen Indus nur vergleichsweise kurze Zeit aufhielten oder halten konnten. Dadurch würden auch die nicht seltenen unvollendeten Inschriften und Zeichnungen eine Erklärung finden. Beantworten läßt sich diese Frage jedoch erst, wenn größere Klarheit über die Chronologie der Bildwerke bestehen wird.

Die Felsbilder von Chilās und Thalpan sind oft mit Stifterinschriften versehen, die sich an einen Inschriftentyp anschließen, der sich weit in die Vergangenheit zurückverfolgen läßt (v. HINÜBER 1980: 54). Als Beispiel mag dienen:

69. a: *devadharmo yaṃ priyananda* *Pl. 137*
b: *putra dharmasihe* (662-83; DANI 1983: 184, plate 10; JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985: 22, Foto 31[6]: Thalpan-Ziyarat)

„Dies ist die religiöse Schenkung des Dharmasiṃha, des Sohnes des Priyananda". Derselbe Stiftername erscheint auch in einem anderen Inschriftentyp, der vorerst ohne Parallele zu sein scheint:

69a. a: *dharmahetuvaradā(mi) kritaṃ mayā* *Pl. 138*
b: *dharmasiṃghasya priyanandaputre: //≡:* (328-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

4 Abgebildet in JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985, Tafel 19.
5 Abgebildet bei STEIN 1907, Plate 1 gegenüber S. 18.
6 Bei JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985 ist auf Tafel 18 das Foto 32 wiedergegeben, 31 ist ein Druckfehler.

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Nur wenig darunter steht auf demselben Stein:

Pl. 139 69b. a: *dharmahetuvaradā*

b: *priyanandasya (natri)nanda*

c: {+ + +}

d: {+ +} (326-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

Die in geschweifte Klammern gesetzten *akṣaras* sind nachträglich getilgt. Die beiden Inschriften stammen offensichtlich von Vater und Sohn, zu denen sich auf demselben Stein noch der Enkel gesellt:

Pl. 140 69c. a: # *dharmasiga(!)*

b: *putra dharma*

c: *(m)oṭasya* (322-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

Dies ist der bisher einzige Fall, daß sich drei Generationen in den Inschriften nachweisen lassen.

Der Konsonant des ersten *akṣara* in Zeile *c* ist undeutlich, und *rm* ist nicht auszuschließen, so daß eine Dittographie für *dharmoṭa* vorliegen kann. Dieser gut bezeugte Namentyp wurde am oberen Indus gerne verwendet (oben S. 44).

Eine weitere Inschrift des hier besprochenen Typs findet sich etwa einen halben Kilometer westlich:

Pl. 141 69d. a: *dharmahetuvaradā*

b: *(svi)kīyasya* {+ + +}

c: {+ + +} (333-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

Auch hier sind *akṣaras* getilgt, die jedoch auf der Abbildung durch den rechten Rand abgeschnitten werden. Und schließlich, weit von diesen Inschriften getrennt, oberhalb des Weges in das Dorf Thalpan kurz bevor dieser die Dorfbrücke erreicht:

Pl. 142 69e. a: # *dharmahetuvarada +*

b: *jīvadharma (na)mi(ddh)īraḥ* (314-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

Diese Inschrift steht zwischen śivaitischen Inschriften und Zeichnungen.

Neben einem Stūpa steht:

Pl. 143 69f. a: *devadharmo yaṃ varuṇa*

b: *priyasya*

c: *dharmahetuvara(ṃ)da* (556-84: Thalpan)

Eine letzte Inschrift dieses Typs, jedoch ohne die Nennung eines Namens, findet sich in Gichigah:

Pl. 144 69g. a: # *dharmahetuvaradā*

b: # *dharmahetuvara(dā̆)*

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c: *dharmahetuvaradā*
d: # *dharmahetuvaradā* (297-83 = 759-85: Gichigah)

Alle Zeilen stammen von derselben Hand. Zeile *d* steht etwa einen Meter rechts unter den Zeilen *a—c* und ist auf der Abbildung nicht zu sehen. Die Inschrift ist stark berieben, so daß sich nicht sicher erkennen läßt, ob stets *-tu-* oder *-tū-* geschrieben ist.
Eine sichere Deutung des Inhalts wird vor allem dadurch erschwert, daß in 69a *-mi* und in 69e vielleicht *-śa* oder *-rśa* auf °*varadā*, das teils mit langem, teils mit kurzem *a* geschrieben zu sein scheint, folgt.
Eine mögliche Übersetzung dieser Inschriften ist: „Wunschgewährung wegen des Dharma für ...". Dies mag eher der Dank für einen bereits gewährten Wunsch sein als eine in die Zukunft gerichtete Bitte, bei der man wohl eher die Nennung des Zieles, auf das sich der Wunsch richtet, erwarten würde.
Die Inschrift Nr. 69, von der dieser Exkurs seinen Ausgang genommen hat, steht rechts von der Felszeichnung eines Stūpas über dem Bild des Stifters, dessen Kleidung in Zuschnitt und Musterung nicht nur an den Stifter auf Wandbildern in Turfan (LE COQ 1925: Fig. 11, 28 usw.), sondern vor allem auch an das Gewand des Stifters der Gilgit(Kashmir)-Bronze Nr. 30 bei PAL (1975) erinnert: Der *mahāgaṃjapati* Saṃkaraseṇa trägt ein Gewand gleichen Musters und mit gleichem Kragenaufschlag.
In unmittelbarer Nähe hat derselbe Stifter zwei weitere Stūpas abbilden lassen, wobei auffällt, daß sie drei gänzlich verschiedenen Typen zugerechnet werden müssen:

69h. a: *devadharmo yaṃ priya*
b: *nanda(pu)tra (dharma)*
c: *siṃhasya* (661-84: Thalpan-Ziyarat)

69i. a: *devadharmo yaṃ* *Pl. 145*
b: *priyanandaputre*
c: *dharmasi*
e: *he* (663-84: Thalpan-Ziyarat)

Der Stifter Dharmasiṃha ist bisher nur aus dem Umkreis der Thalpan-Inschriften bekannt geworden.
Eine größere Anzahl von Stiftungen in Thalpan und Chilās sind mit dem Namen Kuberavāhana verbunden, der meist *Kueravāhana* geschrieben wird. Unter einem kunstvollen Stūpa und gleichzeitig über einem vor einem Bodhi-Baum sitzenden Buddha in Thalpan steht:

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Pl. 147 70. *devaddharmo yaṃ kuṃeṃravāhanasya:* (533-84; DANI 1983: 146f., no. 111; JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985: Foto 18, Tafel 13: Thalpan)

„Dies ist die religiöse Stiftung des Kuberavāhana".

In unmittelbarer Nähe, nur ein wenig weiter im Osten steht unter einem ungewöhnlich reich ausgestatteten Stūpa, dessen Schirme von Stützen getragen werden und dessen *harmikā* von Streben geschmückt wird, auf denen Figuren dargestellt sind, so daß dieser Bauschmuck wie eine frühe Vorwegnahme der Dachstützen nepalesischer Pagoden wirkt:

Pl. 146 71. a: *devaddharmo yaṃ kueravāha*

b: *nasya:* (535c-84; DANI 1983: 150, no. 112: Thalpan)

Zeichnung und Inschrift befinden sich auf einer Terrasse in der Felsbarriere von Thalpan, etwa zehn Meter über dem Boden.

Auch am westlichen Ende des sog. „Altarfelsen" in Thalpan hat Kuberavāhana Zeichnungen unmittelbar neben dem unter Nr. 86ff. besprochenen Komplex gestiftet. Eine Inschrift weist ihm den großen Stūpa zu, bei dem die Rosetten im unteren Teil der Basis nicht vollständig ausgeführt sind. Auch hier finden sich wiederum Figuren, diesmal Krieger, als Stützen der *harmikā*, eine Besonderheit, die den Kuberavāhana-Stiftungen vorbehalten ist. Sie findet sich weiterhin am Stūpa des Tiger-Jātaka (unten Nr. 74).

Die teilweise durch Flugsand abgeriebene, teilweise durch Abplatzen des Steines beschädigte Stifterinschrift ist nur noch mit Mühe zu entziffern:

Pl. 148 72. a: *(devadha)*[*rmo yaṃ*] *kueravāhanasya yad atra bhatu(!) puṇyaṃ*

b: *ta ///// (prāptāya) sya* (16-85: Thalpan)

Die auf den Namen folgende Formel, die in den Bereich des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus gehört, ist aus zahlreichen Belegen bekannt (v. HINÜBER 1980: 58 und SCHOPEN 1979: 5–8, 13): *yad atra bhavatu puṇyaṃ tat sarvasatvānām anuttarajñānāvāptaye stu*[7]. Da in Zeile *b* etwa vier bis fünf *akṣaras* abgeplatzt sind

7 Eine Formulierung, die von den bei SCHOPEN 1979 mitgeteilten abweicht, findet sich in der Stifterinschrift auf dem Sockel einer Buddha-Figur aus Nepal aus dem 7./8. (?) Jh., die bei ZWALF 1985: Nr. 160 abgebildet ist. Herrn ZWALF, Britisches Museum, bin ich für die Überlassung einer Fotografie von der Inschrift zu Dank verpflichtet:

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und da das fehlerhafte *bhatu* an einer ungewöhnlichen Stelle steht, scheint eine individuelle Abwandlung der Formel vorzuliegen: *yad atra bhavatu puṇyaṃ tad anuttarajñānaprāptāya syāt*, wobei das deutlich sichtbare *sya* der Inschrift ein Fehler für *syāt* sein kann, das hier anstelle des sonst üblichen *astu* stehen könnte.

Unmittelbar rechts von diesem von Kuberavāhana gestifteten Stūpa ist das Ṛṣipañcaka-Jātaka abgebildet (THEWALT 1983: 623f. mit Tafel XXXVIII; LOHUIZEN 1985)[8], das dem Tiger-Jātaka (unten Nr. 74) und der Szene, in der die Versuchung des Buddha durch die Töchter Māra's dargestellt wird, stilistisch wohl nicht ganz ferne steht. Diese ist wiederum durch eine nur nachts bei künstlichem Licht schwach, doch sicher lesbare Inschrift, die fotografisch nicht dokumentierbar ist, Kuberavāhana zugewiesen:

72a. *devaddharmo yaṃ kueravāhanasya* (706-85; DANI 1983: no. 106; JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985: 20 zu Foto 21: Thalpan)

Man darf daher vielleicht annehmen, daß auch die Darstellung des Ṛṣipañcaka-Jātaka Kuberavāhana zu verdanken ist.

Auch auf der linken Seite des Indus hat Kuberavāhana in Chilās I eine Stūpa-Zeichnung gestiftet:

73. *devadharmo yaṃ kueravāhana(sya)* (DANI 1983: 180, Plate 9: Chilās I) *Pl. 149*

Vor allem aber ist er der Stifter des Tiger-Jātaka[9]:

74. a: *vryāghrāni dharmarāyaṃ : //* *Pl. 150, 151*
b: *mahādevaṃ mahā[pra]ṇ[ādaṃ] mahāsatva* *Pl. 150, 152*
c: *mahasvasvaparītyāgaṃ* *Pl. 150, 153*

(a) *satyanander yyateḥ puṇyaskandho ya[ṃ] mātṛbarmmaṇaḥ,*
bhikṣor ajitasenasya (b) *kulamitrasya cadbhutaḥ,*
phalam asmād dhi yat praptam ebhiḥ satkarmmakāribhiḥ, (c)
satvānām eva tac chāntyai syād eṣāṃ cāmṛtaprada[ṃ]

Die Lesung folgt D.C. SIRCAR, Journal of Ancient Indian History, II 1,2. 1968/69. S. 269.

8 Das zugehörige Jātaka ist inzwischen von HANDURUKANDE (1984): 2–33 herausgegeben. – Die von LOHUIZEN 1985: 135 für das Jātaka in Thalpan vorgeschlagene Datierung, das 7./8. Jh., scheint nach den eher in das 6. Jh., allenfalls in das sehr frühe 7. Jh. weisenden Inschriften zu spät zu sein.

9 Die literarischen Parallelen zum Tiger-Jātaka verzeichnet DRESDEN 1955: 449, no. 20; vgl. THEWALT 1983: 629 mit Tafel XLI–XLIII.

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Pl. 150, 153 d: *kueravāha(na)* 83,84-83; DANI 1983: 178, no. 125; THEWALT 1983: Tafel XLIff.: Chilās I)

Die Zeilen *a—c* stammen von einer, die Zeile *d* von einer zweiten Hand. Der mittlere Name in der Zeile *b* ist nicht sicher lesbar, doch widersprechen erkennbare Spuren auf dem Stein dem ergänzten *akṣara* [*pra*] nicht, und *ṇ* ist deutlich erkennbar. Auch der Name *mahāsatva* ist zweifelsfrei lesbar. Daraus ergibt sich zugleich, daß auf dem Bild mehrere Szenen nebeneinander dargestellt sind (vgl. SCHLINGLOFF 1981: 90ff.). In einer ersten Szene unterhalten sich die drei Brüder, die durch ihren Namen bezeichnet sind, wie es im Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra (NOBEL 1937: 208,5—209 = EMMERICK 1970: 87f.) beschrieben ist. Damit wird zugleich die Baumgottheit der Suv 214,4 genannten *devatā* zuzuordnen sein. Und zwei Episoden können auch im unteren Teil des Bildes dargestellt sein: die Tigerin, die, wenn eine Zahl überhaupt genannt ist, fünf oder sieben Junge hat (NOBEL 1937: 208 Anm. 18; 239 Anm. 21), fällt links über den Bodhisatva her, nachdem sich dieser mit Blut beschmiert hat, während die vier rechts sichtbaren Tiere von den drei Jünglingen vor dem Selbstopfer betrachtet werden. Im Lichte der Inschriften ist daher die von THEWALT 1983: 630 vorgetragene Deutung zu modifizieren.

In Zeile *c* ist *maha°* in *mahā°* zu korrigieren; in *svasva* liegt eine Dittographie vor. Die Schreibung des langen *-ī-* in *parī°* ist von palaeographischem Interesse, da es hier in der vergleichsweise seltenen, auch in *jīvoṭṭaka*, Nr. 8 (vgl. oben S. 44 Anm. 6) vorliegenden Form ausgeführt ist. Dem Worte *mahāsvaparītyāga* „große Selbstaufgabe" entspricht im Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra *ātmaparityāga*, 210,5.

Von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist die Überschrift der Szene, in der jedoch das Wort *dharmarāyaṃ*, das nochmals in Thalpan, unten Nr. 90, bezeugt ist, unklar bleibt. Die Schreibung *vryāghrāni*, die nicht wirklich sicher gelesen ist (vielleicht: *vryāghrinī*) und die Pāli *vyagghinī* nähersteht als Sanskrit *vyāghrī*, läßt eine dardische Liquidenmetathese erkennen[10]. Eben diese erscheint auch in

10 v. HINÜBER 1986, § 19; ferner oben S. 42 Anm. 1; oben S. 57, Nr. 59 *rudraśrarma*; unten S. 123ff., Nr. 8d *dhrīrgha*; und aus Thalpan in der Nähe des Altarfelsens *devadhrarmo*.

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einem sakischen Text, dem Jātakastava. Der Herausgeber (DRESDEN 1955: 446 Anm. 39, 40) hat dies nicht erkannt, da er *vrrāghraja*, 17v2 und *vrrāgrī*, 17v3 im Text des Jātakastava in *vy-* ändert. Da sich zudem dem Verlust der Aspiration in *vrrāgrī* aus den Inschriften *siga* für *siṃgha*, beispielsweise in Nr. 69c zur Seite stellen läßt, können diese sprachlichen Hinweise auf einen ursprünglichen Wortlaut dieses Jātakas in Gāndhārī deuten, so daß die Erzählung wohl aus dem Nordwesten des Subkontinents nach Khotan kam[11].

Daß Kuberavāhana, der sich selbst als liegenden Adoranten hat darstellen lassen, über dem die Zeile *d* der Inschrift steht, auch den großen Stūpa links neben dem Tiger-Jātaka gestiftet hat, ist bereits wegen der schon besprochenen figürlichen Stützen (THEWALT 1983: Tafel XLI) wahrscheinlich; auch die durch Flugsand weitgehend abgeriebene Stifterinschrift widerspricht dem nicht:

74a. a: *(devadharmo yaṃ) ////(na)////*

b: *(ya)[d atra ta]d bhava + ///* (88-83: Chilās I)

Zeile *a*, die vielleicht zu [*kueravāha*]*na*[*sya*] ergänzt werden darf, steht unter dem Stūpa. Zeile *b* dagegen, die nur sehr schwach zu erkennen ist, steht unter dem Bild des Kuberavāhana. Der Schreiber hat vielleicht das Wort *puṇyaṃ* ausgelassen, wenn es sich wirklich um die unter Nr. 72 besprochene Formel handelt.

Kuberavāhana trägt eine zentralasiatische Tracht mit umgürtetem Mantel und Stiefeln, jedoch kein Schwert. Sein Kopftuch scheint vorn in einer Art Rosette zusammengebunden zu sein. Die Hände hat er in der *añjali*-Geste zusammengelegt.

Links neben dem Stūpa kniet eine zweite, ebenfalls durch eine Inschrift näher bezeichnete Person:

75. a: *(ka)[lyā](ṇa)mittra ācārya* *Pl. 94*

b: *guttena* (85-83: Chilās I = Nr. 39)

Danach handelt es sich hier wohl um den geistlichen Lehrer des Kuberavāhana. Er ist barfüßig kniend dargestellt und an seinem Gewand als Mönch deutlich erkennbar. Dieses ist in sechs, an der

11 Man kann vielleicht so weit gehen, für den gesamten Jātakastava ein Gāndhārī-Original vorauszusetzen, da es sich wohl trotz EMMERICK 1979: 21 mit DRESDEN 1955: 402 doch um einen übersetzten Text handelt.

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linken Seite der Figur oberhalb des Gürtels erkennbare Streifen eingeteilt. Unmittelbar unterhalb des Gürtels beginnt der Ansatz des angewinkelten Beines. Die rechte Schulter ist unbekleidet, über der linken sind zwei Säume oder Falten des Gewandes sichtbar. In seiner linken Hand hält Datta eine Blume, in der rechten hängt zwischen Daumen und Zeigefinger ein nicht deutlich erkennbarer Gegenstand, vielleicht eine kleine Glocke oder eine Frucht herab. Die übrigen Finger sind abgespreizt. Punkte auf dem Gesicht, die sich auf dem Kopf fortsetzen, deuten Bartstoppeln und geschorenes Haar an. Bisher ist dies das einzige Bild eines buddhistischen Mönches unter den Felszeichnungen[12].

Mit diesen Stiftungen, denen wohl auch das Śibi-Jātaka am Altarfelsen in Thalpan zuzurechnen ist (vgl. THEWALT 1983: 632), darf Kuberavāhana als einer der bedeutenden Förderer des Buddhismus in Thalpan und Chilās gelten.

Einmal hat auch sein Sohn auf einem kleineren Stein in Thalpan eine Inschrift anbringen lassen:

Pl. 154 76. a: *////kueravāhanaputra deva(hana)// iha /////*

b: # *devadharmo yaṃ devavāhanasya* (586-84; DANI 1983: 227, no. 192: Thalpan)

„Devavāhana, der Sohn des Kuberavāhana// [ist] hierher [gekommen]. Dies ist die religiöse Stiftung des Devavāhana".

Obwohl der Stein beschädigt ist, läßt sich die erste Zeile zu *i(ha)* [*saṃprāpta*] oder entsprechend ergänzen, vgl. Inschriften Nr. 16–18. In *deva(hana)* liegt wohl eine Haplographie vor. Sprachlich ist bemerkenswert, daß im Namen *Kueravāhana* niemals ein *-b-* geschrieben ist, was auf eine sehr schwache Aussprache hindeutet (v. HINÜBER 1986: § 191, S. 101). In Chilās wird ein entsprechender Name einmal mit *-v-* geschrieben.

Pl. 156 77. *kuverajeṣṭe* (54-83: Chilās I)

Der Name steht ohne weiteren Kontext.

Da Devavāhana ausdrücklich betont, daß er an diesen Ort gekommen sei, muß man wohl den Schluß ziehen, daß er und daher wohl auch sein Vater nicht ortsansässig waren.

Der Gegenstand der Schenkung des Devavāhana wird nicht erkennbar, da keine Zeichnung diese Inschrift begleitet. Da dies

12 Zu Mönchsnamen: oben Nr. 36ff. – Zu *kalyāṇamitra ācārya* vgl. *kalyāṇamittena ācariyena*, Samantapāsādikā 968, 22.

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sehr oft der Fall ist, muß man entweder annehmen, daß Gegenstände in weniger aufwendigen Materialien gestiftet wurden, die im Laufe der Zeit untergegangen sind, oder daß an Schenkungen, etwa Speise oder Kleidung für den buddhistischen Orden nur durch derartige Inschriften erinnert werden soll, um das religiöse Verdienst des Spenders festzuhalten[13]. Neben diesen schlichten Schenkungsinschriften, die für die Beurteilung der Verbreitung des Buddhismus am oberen Indus großen Wert besitzen und vielfältige Aussagen über die Namengebung erlauben, lassen andere Inschriften viel weitergehende Schlüsse zu.

In Chilās I findet sich eine Gruppe von Bildern und Inschriften, in denen Namen von Tathāgatas und Bodhisatvas genannt werden. Bereits STEIN (1944: Plate IVa,b) hat zwei Bilder veröffentlicht, ohne jedoch Lesungen der Inschriften beizugeben. Dies ist um so bedauerlicher, als die „Gruppe 1", aus der Plate IVa ein Bild und eine Inschrift zeigt, inzwischen zerstört, und damit die lange, von STEIN wohl im Text erwähnte, aber auf dem Foto nicht erfaßte zweizeilige Inschrift rechts des Bildes verloren ist. Soweit auf dem Foto erkennbar, steht unter dem Bild:

78. a: *//// (sārdhaṃ sa) + + /////*
b: */////dharaṇa*[*s*]*ya*
c: [*deva*]*dharmo yaṃ śama*
d: [*na*](*śū*)*rena sārdhaṃ priyasiṅhena*
e: [*divi*]*rena sārdhaṃ* (*śa*)*manasiṅhena + + + vīrena* (Chilās I)

Die Zeichen in der Zeile *a* sind nur sehr schwach zu erkennen, auf *sa* könnte *trasa* folgen, bevor die Inschrift gänzlich unlesbar wird. In Zeile *e* scheint eher *śamana* als *gamana* geschrieben zu sein, da ein schwacher innerer Querstrich in dem *akṣara* erkennbar ist. Es könnte *(śamana)vīrena* folgen, doch sind die ersten drei *akṣaras* so schwach, daß sie nicht sicher gedeutet werden können.

In südöstlicher Richtung von diesem Bild, jedoch noch auf demselben Felsen befindet sich eine Gruppe von Bildern, deren Mittelpunkt ein Stūpa bildet[14]. Links vom Stūpa und so unmittelbar neben ihm, daß sich die Linien beider Bilder berühren, sitzt ein Buddha, der an der Gestaltung seines Gewandes als

13 Zum Sinn des Spendens bei den Buddhisten: SCHOPEN 1984: 125.
14 Abgebildet bei STEIN 1944: Plate IVb; DANI 1983, no. 120–122; JETTMAR 1980, Tafel 2 und 3.1, dazu S. 165.

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Śākyamuni zu erkennen ist[15]. Ikonographisch ungewöhnlich, wenn nicht gar gänzlich ohne Parallele, ist die Blüte, die an einer langen Ranke links aus der Aureole des Buddha herauswächst. Eine identische Ranke und Blüte findet sich nochmals an der Aureole der bekrönten Figur eines Tathāgata, den die Inschrift als Vipaśyin ausweist. Seine Schultern bedeckt ein Umhang, wie er von den Gilgit(Kashmir)-Bronzen her bekannt ist[16]. Vor ihm kniet ein Stifter, der in seiner rechten Hand ein Räuchergefäß und in seiner linken einen Kranz trägt. Die zugehörige Inschrift lautet:

Pl. 155 79. a: # *namo āryā vipaśi*
b: *s tathāgatāya*
c: *sārdhaṃ siṅ(h)oṭena* (DANI 1983: no. 121[17]: Chilās I)

Der Tathāgata ganz links außen wurde von demselben Stifter in Auftrag gegeben; auch stilistisch schließt er sich, wie besonders seine Aureole zeigt, eng an die bereits erwähnten drei Abbildungen an:

Pl. 157 80. a: # *namo lokeśvarāya*
b: *sārdhaṃ siṅhoṭena*
c: *bhāginyā pravāsusabhena*
d: *bhāryā caṃpadārikā* (314-83: DANI 1983: 171f.; no. 122; Chilās I)

15 Vgl. unten Nr. 86 und JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985, Tafel 14 und oben Nr. 70 = JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985, Tafel 13.

16 PAL 1975, No. 29, 30, 32, 36. Bemerkenswert erscheint auch die große Ähnlichkeit der Kronen der No. 29, 30, 32 und auch 31, wobei ein Vergleich mit der Krone des Stifters der Bronze Nr. 31 besonders interessant ist. Soweit erkennbar, ist sie ebenso aufgebaut wie die der Buddhas mit dem einzigen Unterschied, daß diejenige des Paṭola Ṣāhi Nandivikramādityanandi von einem Tierkopf, der eine Perlenkette im Maul trägt, überragt wird. Da es sich gewiß um die Krone der Paṭola Ṣāhi Dynastie handelt, ergibt sich wohl ein weiteres Argument für die Zuordnung der Bronzen zu dieser Dynastie von Gilgit, vgl. v. HINÜBER 1983: 64 und zur Datierung der Bronze Nr. 31 ebendort S. 62f. Es ist jedoch auch zu beachten, daß derartige Kronen auch von Bronzen aus Svāt, UHLIG 1979: Nr. 51, 52 und aus späterer Zeit Kronen mit vergleichbaren Bändern aus West-Tibet, UHLIG 1979, Nr. 77ff., bekannt sind. – Zu den Kronen vgl. ferner unten zu Nr. 85.

17 Ohne Lesung bei DANI 1983 (?); vgl. ferner: v. HINÜBER 1983: 49f. mit Anm. 10 und v. HINÜBER 1983a, Nr. I, vgl. unten Anm. 25.

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„Verehrung dem Lokeśvara. Zusammen mit Siṅhoṭa, der Schwester Pravāsusabhā, der Gattin Caṃpadārikā" (v. HINÜBER 1983: 49 Anm. 10).

Hier lernen wir also die Schwester des Siṅhoṭa kennen, deren Name wie oft in diesen Formeln eine maskuline Endung trägt[18], und seine Gattin, „das Mädchen aus Caṃpā", womit das heutige Cambā gemeint sein kann[19].

Dieselbe Namensform für Avalokiteśvara erscheint nochmals in:

80a. *namo (l)okeśvara* (669-84: Thalpan)

Rechts außen steht eine Figur mit einer anders ausgeführten Aureole. Mit Hilfe des *amṛtaghaṭa* in der linken Hand der Figur ist sie unschwer als Maitreya zu deuten.

Noch zur selben Gruppe gehörig, jedoch weiter unterhalb und unmittelbar nördlich der Straße gelegen, befindet sich die weitere Darstellung eines Bodhisatva mit folgenden Inschriften:

81. a: *namo āryā* *Pl. 159*
    b: *maṃjuśrī bodhi*
    c: *satvāya* (315-83; DANI 1983: 162, no. 117: Chilās I)

82. *devadharmo yaṃ kṛtaṃ mayā siṅhoṭena* (316-83; DANI 1983: 164, no. 117: Chilās I) *Pl. 159*

Schließlich gehört auch der nur etwa zehn Meter westlich auf derselben Seite der Straße gelegene Bodhisatva ohne Inschrift hierher. DANI 1983: no. 118 (vgl. JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985, Foto 23, Tafel 15) bestimmt ihn wohl zu Unrecht als Mañjuśrī. Denn dieser Bodhisatva trägt in seiner erhobenen rechten Hand keinen Rosenkranz und seine linke hängt in *bhūsparśa*-Haltung herab.

Die Straße durchschneidet also heute diesen großen, in sich einheitlichen Komplex von Stiftungen des Siṅhoṭa, von dem STEIN in seinem Bericht nur einen Teil erwähnt. Der Straßenbau hat zur Zerstörung der unter Nr. 78 behandelten Gruppe von Bildern und Inschriften geführt, zu der vielleicht einmal der inzwischen verschollene und wohl als Baumaterial verwendete, 1983 noch am

18 Vgl. v. HINÜBER 1980: 50 und *raktaśāntenasya bhikṣoḥ*, *āyuṣmāṃ raktaśāntenaś*, JRAS 1913, S. 846ff. mit doppelter Endung.

19 Es ist zu bemerken, daß die alten buddhistischen Handschriften und die Inschriften aus Cambā selbst meist Caṇpā schreiben: v. HINÜBER 1985a: 72 mit Anmerkung 43; vgl. aber Campā, Rājataraṅgiṇī VII 218.

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Straßenrand liegende Śākyamuni (DANI 1983: no. 119) gehört hat[20].

Ikonographisch sehr ähnlich, ohne jedoch völlig identisch zu sein, ist der Maitreya einer zweiten Gruppe von Bildern, die ebenfalls von Siṅhoṭa in Chilās I gestiftet und die oft abgebildet worden ist (STEIN 1944; Plate IVb; JETTMAR 1980a: Tafel II; JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985: Tafel 16). Sie liegt südlich von der Straße und südöstlich von dem eben beschriebenen Komplex:

Pl. 158 83. a: *# devadharmo yaṃ*
b: *siṅhoṭesya* (DANI 1983: 172, plate 8; v. HINÜBER 1983a: 273, Nr. III: Chilās I)

Diese Inschrift steht rechts neben dem *pūrṇaghaṭa* unter dem Stūpa.

Unter dem Maitreya ist zu lesen:

Pl. 158 84. *sārddhaṃ gamanaśūrena* (v. HINÜBER 1983a: 273, Nr. III: Chilās I)

Da Nr. 83 und 84 durch *sārddhaṃ* verknüpft sind, darf man wohl den Schluß ziehen, daß Siṅhoṭa zusammen mit Gamanaśūra oder Śamanaśūra, wie der Name in Nr. 78 lautet, gestiftet hat. Da nun *śa* : *ga* Fehlschreibungen nicht selten sind (vgl. beispielsweise unten Nr. 92), weil sich beide *akṣaras* nur durch einen inneren waagerechten Strich unterscheiden, und da sich bisher keine Parallele aus der Literatur zu diesem Namen gefunden hat, bleibt die Feststellung der richtigen Form schwierig. Derselbe Name erscheint nochmals in der Beischrift zu einem Stūpa, der etwa fünfzig Meter östlich von den Inschriften Nr. 78–80 auf den Fels gezeichnet ist:

84a. *# sārddhaṃ gamanaśūrena* (01-85: Chilās I)

Unter der zweiten Figur steht:

Pl. 158 85. *(#na)mo arya va(l)o(ki)////* (v. HINÜBER 1983a: 274, Nr. IV: Chilās I)

Zunächst gilt es festzuhalten, daß alle bedeutenden Bauwerke im Raume Chilās–Thalpan im wesentlichen nur von zwei Stiftern stammen, nämlich Kuberavāhana und Siṅhoṭa, wobei letzterer mindestens einmal mit Śamanaśūra zusammen gestiftet hat. Diese

20 Ein Absuchen der Umgebung im August 1984 hat nicht zum Auffinden weiterer Fragmente, etwa der Inschrift, geführt, die vermutlich im Straßenbett verbaut sind.

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Tatsache aber gewinnt große Bedeutung für die Datierung der Bildwerke, die alle beinahe gleichzeitig entstanden sein müssen. Aus stilistischen Gründen wird man auch diejenigen miteinbeziehen, die, (wie beispielsweise der oben erwähnte Bodhisatva, den DANI zu Unrecht als Mañjuśrī bestimmt hat, oder der Śākyamuni [DANI 1983: no. 118], beide aus Chilās), nur als Fragmente ohne Beischrift, die in beiden Fällen möglicherweise einmal vorhanden war, falls es sich um Bruchstücke aus STEINs „Gruppe 1" handelt (oben S. 83), überliefert sind. Die wichtige Frage, ob Siṅhoṭa und Kuberavāhana Zeitgenossen waren, läßt sich gegenwärtig nicht beantworten.

Neben diesen beiden bedeutenden Schirmherren des Buddhismus steht noch eine weitere Gruppe von Stiftern. Sie haben in sehr feinen Strichen erheblich kleinere Stūpas (DANI 1983: no. 110) mit oft schwer lesbaren, tief in den Stein eingeschnittenen Inschriften ausführen lassen. Bilder von Bodhisatvas oder Tathāgatas haben sie nicht in Auftrag gegeben. Als Namen erscheinen hier in Thalpan und Chilās Vicitradeva und Varuṇeśvara (vgl. oben Nr. 50, 51, 52); anderes entzieht sich noch der Lesung. Die Stifter um Vicitradeva und Varuṇeśvara haben ihre Zeichnungen in Thalpan in der Umgebung der Kuberavāhana-Stiftungen (oben Nr. 71) und oben auf der bereits erwähnten Terrasse in Thalpan anbringen lassen. Ob diese räumliche Nähe für eine gleichzeitige Ausführung der beiden Stiftungen spricht, muß jedoch offenbleiben.

Die Zuordnung dieser recht einheitlichen kleinen Stūpas kann meist nur aus stilistischen Gründen erfolgen, da die Stifter um Vicitradeva und Varuṇeśvara nicht sehr schreibfreudig waren. So kann man auch nur vermuten, daß wir ihnen ebenfalls die beiden Pferdedarstellungen auf der Rückseite des Altarfelsens und auf der Terrasse in Thalpan verdanken. Ein drittes Pferd in gleicher Haltung findet sich in Thalpan-Ziyarat nahe der Dharmasiṃha-Stiftungen (oben Nr. 69) (THEWALT 1984: 210f. mit Abb. 7–9).

Die in den Inschriften von Siṅhoṭa erwähnten Namen der Tathāgatas oder der Bodhisatvas sind wohlbekannt: Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, Vipaśyin; zwei Bilder ohne Inschriften können als Śākyamuni und als Maitreya bestimmt werden.

Auch mit Lokeśvara ist Avalokiteśvara gemeint, wie die Ikonographie deutlich erkennen läßt: Die sitzende (Nr. 80) und die

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stehende (Nr. 85) Figur haben beide ihre rechte Hand in der *abhaya*-Haltung erhoben, in der linken tragen sie eine Blume. Ihre Gewänder entsprechen einander. Allein die Kronen weichen ein wenig voneinander ab. Dies gilt auch für die beiden Maitreya-Figuren. Die von Śamanaśūra gestiftete Figur (Nr. 84) trägt eine Krone, von der an beiden Seiten Bänder herabhängen, die, auf der Felszeichnung nicht klar erkennbar, am unteren Rand der Krone durch eine Blume gehalten zu werden scheinen, hinter der, vom Kopfe abstehend, der obere Zipfel des Bandes – und dies ist auch auf den Felszeichnungen zu sehen – hervorragt: Es ist die Krone der Gilgit(Kashmir)-Bronzen Nr. 29–32 bei PAL (1975). Die Funktion, die diese Bänder haben könnten, läßt sich nach dem Buchdeckel der Gilgit-Handschrift D des Saṃghāṭasūtra ver-
Pl. 160 muten: Da die beiden Bodhisatvas[21] hier im Profil abgebildet sind, kann man erkennen, daß ihre „Krone" wohl nicht den ganzen Kopf umspannt, sondern hinten durch Bänder zusammengehalten wird (vgl. Anm. 16).

Noch weit mehr Namen von Tathāgatas und Bodhisatvas als in Chilās finden sich auf der anderen Seite des Indus in Thalpan. Am westlichen Ende des Altarfelsens in Thalpan findet sich neben dem großen, von Kuberavāhana gestifteten Stūpa (oben Nr. 72) eine Zeichnung, über der steht:

Pl. 161 86. *śākyamuni tathāgata* (706/02-84; DANI 1983: 156, no. 113; 1983a: Taf. IV, Va)

Rechts neben dem Stūpa sitzen zwei Bodhisatvas, deren Namen über ihren Köpfen vermerkt sind. Auch am Stein selbst ist nur der Name des rechten Bodhisatva zu lesen:

Pl. 162 87. *maṃjuśrī bodhisatva* (706/09-85; DANI 1983: 158, no. 114; v. HINÜBER 1983a: 277, Nr. IXb; JETTMAR 1980: Tafel 11,2: Thalpan)

Die Beischrift links neben dem Kopf des zweiten Bodhisatvas bleibt unklar:

87a. a: + + + + +
b: *bodhisatva* (wie 87)

21 Da der rechte Bodhisatva in seiner rechten Hand einen Rosenkranz und der linke in seiner linken Hand einen *amṛtaghaṭa* trägt, handelt es sich wohl nicht, wie ich früher vermutet hatte (v. HINÜBER 1983: 49) um Sarvaśūra und Bhaiṣajyasena, sondern eher um Maitreya und Mañjuśrī.

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Ein Name, der zu den schwachen und sehr unsicheren Spuren der Zeile *a* paßt, hat sich bisher nicht finden lassen. Immerhin wird meine früher ausgesprochene Vermutung (v. HINÜBER 1983a: 277), es könne sich um Prajñākūṭa handeln, hinfällig[22].

Über den beiden Bodhisatvas steht links neben einer sitzenden Figur:

88. a: # *ārya valokite* *Pl. 163*
b: *śvaro bodhisa*
c: *tvaḥ* (706/06-83; DANI 1983: 158, no. 114; 1983a: Tafel Vb: Thalpan)

Schließlich befindet sich ganz rechts außen auf dem Stein eine weitere sitzende Figur mit einem *amṛtaghaṭa* in der rechten Hand und einem Rosenkranz in der linken. Durch die Beischrift wird sie als Maitreya ausgewiesen:

89. a: *ārya maitreyo* *Pl. 164*
b: *bodhisatva* (706/01b-84); Dani 1983: no. 113, S. 156)

Allein Maitreya trägt eine Krone, jedoch ohne Bänder. Die Ausführung aller dieser Bilder weist deutliche stilistische Unterschiede gegenüber den Darstellungen von Chilās auf.

Dieser Stein mit der Stiftung des Kuberavāhana liegt zugleich im äußersten Westen des Fundortes Thalpan. Er ist einer langgestreckten, etwa 40 m hohen Felswand vorgelagert, an der sich zahlreiche Inschriften finden. Hier sind unter Vernachlässigung der Stiftungsinschriften nur diejenigen herausgezogen, die Namen von Tathāgatas oder Bodhisatvas nennen. Ihre Anordnung folgt der auf der Felswand von Westen nach Osten.

Die erste Inschrift dieser Art steht rechts von einem Stūpa, der

22 Erste Deutungen dieses Bildes wollten hierin die Darstellung einer in der chinesischen buddhistischen Kunst weit verbreiteten, in der indischen jedoch ganz unbekannten Szene aus dem *stūpasaṃdarśanaparivarta* des Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra sehen, in der sich Śākyamuni und Prabhūtaratna im Gespräch vertieft auf einem gemeinsamen Sitz niedergelassen haben. Das Motiv des geteilten Sitzes erscheint auch sonst in der buddhistischen Literatur, wenn der König Māndhātā von Śakra dadurch geehrt wird, daß dieser ihm seinen halben Thron anbietet [Gilgit Manuscripts, Facsimile Edition 1443.6, vgl. H. MATSUMURA: 1980: 24 zur Stelle]. Ein Abschnitt in Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa, II 15 [hg. von A. HILLEBRANDT 1912: 53.7] zeigt, daß das Angebot des halben Thrones dem Angebot des halben Reiches gleichkommt.

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von zwei Säulen eingerahmt wird. Die Abbildung ist etwa achtzig Meter vom Altarfels entfernt. Rechts vom Stūpa steht eine Stifterinschrift:

Pl. 165, 166 90. a: *devadharmo yaṃ madana + ////*

b: *+ na likhitaṃ dharmarāyaṃ* (519-84; Je 5.9.82: Thalpan)

Das Ende der Zeile *a* und der Anfang der Zeile *b* sind nicht deutlich, da es unklar bleibt, ob die zweite Zeile mit einem Schriftzeichen, vielleicht *re*, oder mit einem zufälligen Strich beginnt. Es bleibt daher auch unsicher, ob sich der Name zu *Madanasiṃhena* ergänzen läßt. Der Stifter ist vom Altarfels bekannt:

90a. a: *devadharmo yaṃ*

b: *madanasihena* (704-84: Je 208-78: Thalpan)

Diese Inschrift ist nur im Morgenlicht zu erkennen.

Die Bedeutung des Wortes *dharmarāyaṃ*, Nr. 90, das auch in der Überschrift des Tiger-Jātaka (oben Nr. 74) erscheint, bleibt dunkel. Hier ist zudem unsicher, ob der Schreiber ein *dhā* gemeint hat oder ob der Strich an der rechten oberen Ecke des *akṣara dha* wie oft ohne besondere Bedeutung gesetzt ist.

Die Inschrift mit den Namen von Tathāgatas ist in einem völlig anderen Duktus als die Weihinschrift geschrieben. Ob ein Zusammenhang mit dem Stūpa und dieser Inschrift besteht, muß daher zweifelhaft bleiben:

Pl. 165, 167 91. a: *namo amitābhāya tathāśata(!) nama śikhine tathāgatāya*

b: *nama tapatmanayanacūḍāpratihatavelāmburaśmirājāya tathā*

c. *gatāya/* (518-84; Je 80-17-02; DANI 1983: 80, no. 61: Thalpan)

Da dies die erste Inschrift auf der Felswand selbst ist, die am äußersten westlichen Ende steht, ist es vielleicht kein Zufall, daß gerade hier Amitābha genannt ist. Doch kommt derselbe Name auch sonst vor:

Pl. 168 91a. *namaḥ amitābhāya* (308-85: Harban-Ost)

Pl. 169 91b. *namo amit(ābha)* (T82D31-5: Chilās V)

Ferner sind unten Nr. 99, 108 und

Pl. 170 91c. *namo amitāyuto(!) tathāgatāya : :* (338-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

zu vergleichen. Ganz ungewöhnlich ist der dritte Buddhaname in Nr. 91. Er erscheint noch zweimal weiter flußabwärts in Shatial. Dort wird er beidemale in einer völlig anderen Schrift, die in winzigen *akṣaras* in den Stein eingemeißelt ist, geschrieben. Sie

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gleicht damit in mancher Hinsicht der Schrift in den oben erwähnten Stiftungen von Vicitradeva und Varuṇeśvara:

91d. *nama śata(patma)nayanacūḍāpratihatavelāma(ra)śmirājāya tathāgatāyā:* (275-85: Shatial-West) *Pl. 171*

Diese Inschrift steht auf demselben Stein wie oben Nr. 31. Auf der entsprechenden Abbildung ist sie nur schwach als Strich zu erkennen.

Und noch ein weiteres Mal erscheint dieser Name:

91e. a: *(nama śata)patmanayanacūḍapratihata(velāma)raśmi(rā)-jāya* *Pl. 172*

b: *(tathāgatā)ya: nama prabhūtaratnāya (tathāgatāya)*

c: *namas saddharmarakṣakendrabhūtarajāya (tatāgatāya)* (572-85: Shatial-Ost)

Der Tathāgata Prabhūtaratna ist bisher allein aus dem Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra bekannt, einem Text, von dem in Gilgit vier Handschriften gefunden worden sind. Der Name in Zeile *c* scheint sonst nicht nachweisbar zu sein.

Auch zu dem Namen, der sich in allen drei Inschriften wiederholt, fehlt zunächst noch eine Parallele. Seine Deutung bleibt in Einzelheiten unklar: *śata-patma* (stets so für *padma*?)*-nayanacūḍā-apratihata-velāma-* (oder: *-velambu-)-raśmi-rāja.*

Aus den Parallelen ergibt sich, daß der Schreiber in Thalpan die erste Silbe des Namens ausgelassen hat, als er *tapatma°* schrieb.

Die Inschriften setzen sich in Thalpan fort mit:

92. *namo śikhine (tathā)śatāya(!)* (520-84; Je 277/17: Thalpan) *Pl. 173*

und:

93. *namo śākyamunaye tathāgatāya*| (521-84; Je 277/17a: Thalpan) *Pl. 174*

Die Inschriften Nr. 92, 93, die links und rechts von einem Stūpa angebracht sind, scheinen ihrem Duktus nach von demselben Schreiber ausgeführt zu sein wie Nr. 90.

Links neben einem weiteren Stūpa steht:

94. a: + + + *Pl. 175*

b: *nama (a)kṣayamati(naḥ) tathā*

c: *gatāya nama (śu)ddhajaya ta*

d: *dhaga* (20-85: Thalpan)

Die Inschrift ist nur mit großer Mühe am Stein selbst zu entziffern. Die erste Zeile, vielleicht eine begonnene, aber nicht fortgesetzte Inschrift, ist fast völlig abgerieben. Die Gestalt des *a* in

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(a)kṣaya ist ganz ungewöhnlich, so daß auch eine andere Deutung möglich erscheint und die vorgeschlagene Lesung als vorläufig gelten muß. Bisher ist nur ein Bodhisatva Akṣayamati bekannt, der im Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, im Maṃjuśrīmūlakalpa und in der Aufzählung von Bodhisatva-Namen in der Mahāvyutpatti genannt wird. Der zweite Name der Inschrift scheint *śuddhaja*, vielleicht auch *buddhaja* zu lauten. In der Zeile *d* bricht die Inschrift mit *dhaga* ab, ein wohl durch Auslassen des inneren Querstriches im *dha* entstandener Fehler für ein begonnenes *tathāgatāya*.

Ebenso unsicher bleibt die Lesung des nächsten Namens, der unter einem Stūpa steht. Auch hierzu scheint eine Parallele zu fehlen:

Pl. 176 95. *(na)mo + bha + + (s)etuguṇāya* (21-85: Thalpan)

Auf *bha* können ein breites oder zwei schmale *akṣaras* folgen: [*a*]*bha*[*ya*]*setuguṇa* scheint eine mögliche Ergänzung zu sein. Diese Inschrift ist in einem von Nr. 90, 92, 93 verschiedenen Schrifttyp geschrieben.

Hoch über dem Stūpa steht *namo budhāya(!)* (524-84) und nur wenig weiter östlich:

Pl. 177 96. # *namo vairocanāya tathāgatāya* (527-84: Thalpan)

und etwa drei Meter weiter östlich:

Pl. 178 97. a: *namo ratnaśikhiṃ tathāgatāya*

b: # *namo* (528-84: Thalpan)

Die Zeile *b* ist nicht weiter ausgeführt: zu °*śikhiṃ* statt °*śikhine* vgl. unten Nr. 107.

Im selben Schrifttyp geschrieben findet sich ferner:

97a. a: *nama ratnaśikhine tathāgatā*

b: *(ya) + + putrasya* (336-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

Die beiden ersten *akṣaras* des Namens sind abgerieben.

Über den Inschriften Nr. 96, 97 steht:

98. a: *namo budhāya(!)*

b: # *namo* (528-84: Thalpan)

Die Zeile *b* ist vom Schreiber nicht zuende geführt.

Ein wenig weiter im Osten steht:

Pl. 179 99. a: # *namo saṃpuṣṭitasālarājāya tathāgatāya*

b: *namo samantaraśmivyudgataśrīkṛpanāya tathāga*

c: *tāya:namo amritā(bhya) tathāgatāya* (529-84: Thalpan)

Die Lesung des letzten Namens ist im einzelnen nicht völlig si-

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cher. Wenn statt *bha* hier *bhya* geschrieben ist, könnte ein orthographischer Einfluß von Akṣobhya ausgeübt sein. Die wohl volksetymologische Schreibung *amrita(amṛta)* findet eine Entsprechung in einer von J. BROUGH besprochenen Kharoṣṭhī-Beischrift zu einer Skulptur aus Gandhāra (BROUGH 1982: 68), in der *amrida* steht. Zu dem zweiten Namen fehlt zunächst noch eine Parallele. Der erste Name steht wiederum auch in einer Inschrift in Thalpan-Dorf auf demselben Stein und in unmittelbarer Nähe von Nr. 97a:

99a. a: *namo nama raśmicandrapratima(ṇḍ)ita(vidyutejagho)-ṣeśvararājāya tathāgatāya* *Pl. 180*

b: *namo saṃpuṣpitasālarājāya tathāgatāya* (335-85: Thalpan-Dorf)

Obwohl die Inschrift in sehr kleinen Zeichen geschrieben ist, so ist sie doch demselben Typ wie die Inschriften Nr. 90, 92, 93, 94 zuzurechnen, vor allem wegen der sehr charakteristischen Form des Zeichens *śmi*. Die schwer lesbaren Abschnitte im ersten Namen lassen sich mit Hilfe einer Parallele aus der Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, 2,5 klären.

Der erste Name aus Nr. 99 *saṃpuṣṭita°* und der zweite aus Nr. 99a *saṃpuṣpita°* finden dagegen Anschluß in Texten, die aus Zentralasien überliefert sind.

Namen von Tathāgatas erscheinen hier nicht nur in Schutzformeln (*dhāraṇī*), sondern auch in einer Gattung buddhistischer Texte, die bisher nur aus Zentralasien bekannt ist. Diese, nicht ganz glücklich *deśanā* „Bekenntnis (nämlich des Karma)" genannten Texte versprechen Aufhebung des schlechten Karma durch Schreiben oder Rezitieren von langen Listen mit Buddhanamen (vgl. EMMERICK 1979: 39).

In einer der beiden, in jeweils einer Handschrift erhaltenen zentralasiatischen Versionen der Sitātapatradhāraṇī, die in Sanskrit in khotanischer Orthographie vorliegen, steht ein vergleichbarer Name: *sapuṣpi(!)sālīndrrarājāya*, KT V, Nr. 729 (Ch.c.001.1-198), 28f., S. 369 in der aus Tun-huang bekannten Fassung, der in der Parallelversion aus Khotan zwischen *bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabhārāja* und *śākyamuni*, KT V, Nr. 728 (S. 2529), 23f., S. 360 fehlt. Obwohl der in der Tun-huang-Fassung eingefügte Name nicht völlig identisch ist, bleiben doch der Anklang und die Ähnlichkeit in der Struktur beachtenswert. Zugleich steht *sapuṣpi°*

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der Form *saṃpuṣpita°*, Nr. 99a näher. Da *saṃpuṣpita* „aufgeblüht" wohl besser auf einen Baum paßt als *saṃpuṣṭita* „wohlgenährt", darf man in letzterem vielleicht eine Namensabwandlung, wenn nicht gar ein Mißverständnis sehen. Denn wie andere, weiter unten besprochene Beispiele deutlich machen, gab es offensichtlich einen weiten Ermessensspielraum bei der schöpferischen Gestaltung auch von individuellen Buddhanamen. Vielleicht sind beide Varianten dieses Namens aus dem schlichten *sālarāja* entwickelt, der in der Litanei des Hūyī Kīma-tcūna, KBT Nr. 25. 42, S. 92, vgl. KBT Nr. 27.27, S. 101 = KT V Nr. 530.772, S. 249, vgl. KT V Nr. 531. 1079, S. 253, vorkommt. Schließlich ist auch der Name *sālendrarāja* bezeugt (BHSD s. v.).

In Thalpan folgt nun, etwa zweihundert Meter östlich vom Altarfels und etwa sechzig Meter von den Inschriften Nr. 95ff. entfernt auf der Terrasse in unmittelbarer Nähe der Kuberavāhana-Stiftung Nr. 71 und zweier Stūpazeichnungen der Vicitradeva-Varuṇeśvara-Stiftungen, die vorletzte Inschrift mit einem Bodhisatva- oder Tathāgata-Namen. Ihr Duktus gleicht dem der Inschrift Nr. 99:

Pl. 181 100. a: *namo ratnatrāya(!) namo*
b: *āryā valokiteśvarāya bo*
c: *dhisaya(!) mahāsatvāya mahākāru*
d: *ṇikāya (ta)d yathā tāretu tāre*
e: *(tu) re svāhā* (535b-84; Je 277/142: Thalpan)

Hier wird eine nahe Verwandtschaft mit der sog. Avalokiteśvara-dhāraṇī[23] erkennbar:

namau ratnatrayāya. namau [āryā]valokitteśvarāya bodhisatvāya mahāsatvāya mahākāruṇikāya namas //// nāṃ saryathedaṃ sunākutmale svāhā, KT III, Nr. 1, Blatt 9b5–10a2.

Schließlich wird Avalokiteśvara noch in zwei nicht recht gelungenen Inschriften erwähnt:

Pl. 182 100a. a: # *namo ārya valo*
b: *leśve(rā)ya(!) ś(ravasa)gagītaputra*
c: *makoka* (311-85: Harban-Ost)

Pl. 183 100b. *namo āryā lokite śvarasya* (30/01: Shatial-Ost)

Eine Inschrift, die ganz im Osten etwa einen Kilometer von

23 Der Titel ist nicht überliefert (EMMERICK 1979: 38). Die Herkunft der Handschrift, die in KT keine Signatur trägt, wird von Bailey nicht mitgeteilt.

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Nr. 100 entfernt hoch oben an der Felswand sichtbar ist, lautet:

101. a: # *namo kṣobhya* *Pl. 184*

b: *deyadharmo yaṃ*

c: *guṇaśre*

d: *ṣṭasya* (567-84; Je 277/96; v. HINÜBER 1983a: 276; JETTMAR–THEWALT 1985: Foto 26: Tafel 17: Thalpan)

Die Inschrift steht rechts unten neben dem Bild einer Stūpa-Anlage des *pañcāyatana*-Typs. Es ist durchaus bemerkenswert, daß die Namen im Westen mit Amitābha beginnen und hier im Osten mit Akṣobhya enden, da dies die Tathāgatas der entsprechenden Himmelsrichtungen sind.

Derselbe Tathāgata wird auch in Thalpan-Dorf unmittelbar neben Nr. 99a genannt:

101a. [*na*]*mo akṣobhyāya tathāgatāya* (338a-85: Thalpan-Dorf) *Pl. 185*

und noch einmal links von der Vaiśravaṇasena-Inschrift Nr. 59a am Indus am Fuße der Brücke zwischen Thalpan und Chilās auf der rechten Indusseite:

101b. # *namo kṣobh* (30b-85: Thalpan-Brücke)

Die Inschrift bricht mitten im *akṣara bha* ab, von dem allein die untere Hälfte ausgeführt ist.

Ferner ist dieser Tathāgata genannt in:

101c. *namo akṣobhya* (T81D104-14: Chilās V) *Pl. 186*

Überblickt man die bisher behandelten Inschriften in Thalpan, so lassen sich diese je nach der verwendeten Schrift in die folgenden Gruppen zusammenfassen: Nr. 91, 92, 93, 96, 97 gehören zusammen, wobei zudem wohl Nr. 92, 93 zugleich von derselben Hand stammen können. Zu dieser Gruppe gehört ferner Nr. 99a aus Thalpan-Dorf.

Eine zweite Gruppe bilden Nr. 94, 99, 100, 102, die alle von einer Hand geschrieben sein können.

Ganz abseits stehen die auch voneinander verschiedenen Inschriften Nr. 95 und 101.

Soweit bisher erkennbar, ergeben sich von der Schrift her keine Querverbindungen zu Stiftungen des Kuberavāhana oder Siṅhoṭa, wobei die Kuberavāhana-Inschriften sich räumlich durchaus mit den Bodhisatva- und Tathāgata-Inschriften berühren.

Daß sich auch bestimmte Namen nicht auf bestimmte Schrifttypen festlegen lassen, zeigt *śatapatmanayanacūḍāpratihatavelā-*

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maraśmirāja, Nr. 91ff., der auch in einer Schrift mit sehr kleinen Zeichen nachweisbar ist, die zwar denjenigen der Vicitradeva-Varuṇeśvara-Inschriften nahesteht, jedoch auf Shatial beschränkt zu sein scheint[24].

Namen dieser Art sind jedoch keineswegs auf Thalpan und Chilās beschränkt, wenn sie sich auch an keinem anderen Fundort in der gleichen Dichte nachweisen lassen:

Pl. 187 102. a: # *nama (bhagavate ra)[tna](ku)sumaguṇa*
b: *sāgaravedū(!)rya[ka]na[ka]girisuvarṇa*
c: *[k]ā(ṃ)(ca)[na]prabhā(sa)śrīye tathāgatā*
d: *ya rhate saṃyakss(!)aṃbuddhāya* (298-83: Gichigah)

Wiederum ergibt sich eine zentralasiatische Parallele, die zugleich mit dem Vorkommen dieses Namens im Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra seine Wiederherstellung erlaubt: KBT, Nr. 27. 61f., S. 102 = KT III, Nr. 47. Blatt 6a4f., S. 114 = KT V, Nr. 530. 796, S. 250, vgl. KT III, Nr. 37. 8, S. 97.

Ferner finden sich am selben Fundort und auf demselben Stein die folgenden drei Inschriften:

Pl. 188 103. a: # *namo ratnaśikhine*
b: *tathāgatāya* (286-83: Gichigah)

Darunter:

Pl. 188 104. a: # *nityaprahasita*
b: *pra(mu)ditendriyo bodhisatvo* (287-83: Gichigah)

Darunter:

Pl. 189 105. a: # *namo siṅha*
b: *vīkrītarājāya tathāgatāya*
c: *tad yathā jaye jaye mahā*
d: *jaye jaya(am)na svāhā* (284-83: Gichigah)

In der zweiten Zeile liegt eine Fehlschreibung vor, die sich mit Hilfe des Tathāgata-Namens *suvarṇaprabhāsa-siṃhavikrīḍitarāja* aus der Avalokiteśvaradhāraṇī, KT III, Nr. 1, Blatt 22a3f., S. 12 korrigieren läßt.

Schließlich lassen sich noch einige vereinzelte Inschriften mit derartigen Namen anführen:

Pl. 190 106. *nama (nama)tirmanapaṭalavidhvaṃsa(na)lājāya (tathāgatāya)* (574-85: Shatial-Ost)

24 Eine nach einem Foto vermutete Inschrift in sehr kleinen Zeichen aus Hodar konnte noch nicht am Stein selbst verifiziert werden.

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Da die Lesung des Namens an einigen Stellen unsicher ist, kann nur die Auffindung einer Parallele in der Literatur Klarheit bringen. Auffällig ist °*lājāya* statt °*rājāya*, was sich wohl *śūroṭa* : *śūloṭa*, Nr. 65 vergleichen läßt.

Auch diese Inschrift ist in kleinen Zeichen in den Stein geritzt, doch ist ihr Duktus von dem der Nr. 91 c, d verschieden.

Ebenfalls in sehr kleiner auf der Abbildung nicht entzifferbarer Schrift steht unter dem Namen *vīrasomaḥ śurviḥ*, Nr. 34d:

107. *namo ratne(śikhi) tathāgatāya* (536-85: Shatial-Ost)

Zu °*śikhi* statt °*śikhine* läßt sich °*śikhiṃ*, Nr. 97 vergleichen.

Von einem anderen Fundort stammt:

108. a: [*na*]*mo (a + tā)bhyāya tathāgatāya* *Pl. 191, 192*
b: *namo ratnaśikhis tathāgatāya*[25]
c: *namo śākyamunaye tathāgatāya*
d: *namo akṣobhyāya (tathāga)ttāya(!):*
e: *likhitaṃ priyamitrena*
f: # *nidrottarasya* (127-83; DANI 1983: 78, no. 60: Chilās V)

Die erste Zeile der Inschrift ist inzwischen durch Steinbrucharbeiten zerstört. Der Mönch Priyamitra wird auch sonst erwähnt: oben Nr. 37a.

Schließlich findet sich, wiederum in der Nähe von Chilās im Ortsteil "New Colony" eine heute etwa sechs Meter über dem Boden liegende, stark verwitterte, sechszeilige Inschrift. Rechts ist ein Tier schwach zu erkennen, vermutlich ein Löwe oder ein Tiger. Links ist ein Stūpa abgebildet, dessen Stifterinschrift weitgehend verblaßt ist:

109. a: *devadha*
b: *rmo yaṃ*
c: *caṃ*[*dra*] + - *sārdhaṃ ra(tna)ca////*
d: + + + - *sārdhaṃ priya* + + +
e: abgerieben
f: abgerieben (761-85: New Colony)

Die erste Hälfte der Zeilen *c*, *d* steht links, die zweite rechts vom Stūpa unmittelbar unter Nr. 109a. Im letzten Feld der Stūpa-Basis eingerahmt standen etwa sieben *akṣaras*, hinter denen allein *nasya* noch erkennbar ist.

Obwohl eine weitere Inschrift rechts vom Stūpa auch am Stein

25 Zu °*śikhis tathā*° vgl. oben Nr. 79 mit Anm. 17 und v. HINÜBER 1981: 167.

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selbst kaum zu entziffern ist, so läßt sich mit Hilfe einer Parallele doch wenigstens ein Teil aus den erhaltenen Resten retten:

Pl. 193 109a. a: *namo (hatha) + +*
b: *gatāya (nama) to +*
c: *(nda) .y. budhāya(!)*
d: *namo ddharma(samud)r(av)egaśrī*
e: *rājā[ya tathāga]tāya*
f: *nama + + + + budhāya(!)* (761-85: New Colony)

In Zeile *a* ist statt *ha* auch *pā* eine mögliche Lesung. Obwohl sich eine Ergänzung [*tathā*]*gatāya* anbietet, bleibt dies schwierig, da die vorausgehende Lücke für den Dativ eines Namens zu kurz ist. Vielleicht ist formelhaft-ungrammatisch *namo pātha tathāgatāya* für *tathāgatāḥ* „schützt, ihr Tathāgatas", geschrieben (?). In Zeile *c* könnte statt *nda* auch *tya* gelesen werden, es folgt eine Ligatur, von der nur der untere Teil, ein *.y.* erkennbar ist. Der Name in Zeile *d* kann aus Gaṇḍavyūha (Gv) 258,6* rekonstruiert werden. Er schlägt zugleich eine Brücke auch nach Zentralasien, denn in einer Handschrift, die heute in Leningrad aufbewahrt wird und die N.F. Petrovsky am Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts in Kashgar erworben hat, steht ebenfalls *dharmasa⟨mu⟩dravegaśirirājāya*, 22a1. Der Wert dieser *dhāraṇī*-Sammlung, die erst vor kurzem durch BONGARD-LEVIN/VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSKAYA (1984) herausgegeben ist, liegt darin, daß sie Einblick in die Entstehung von *dhāraṇīs* gewährt und zugleich diese Texte mit der Sūtra-Literatur verknüpft. Sie stellt somit ein wichtiges Bindeglied zwischen zwei Bereichen der buddhistischen Literatur dar. Denn nachdem die ersten fünf Namen der Sammlung beinahe mit KT III Nr. 47 (P 3513,1–12), 7v1–7v4, S. 114 = KBT Nr. 27 (CH. 00268), 73–78, S. 102 identisch sind, folgen die übrigen Tathāgata-Namen genau einem Abschnitt im Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra, was den Herausgebern der *dhāraṇī*-Sammlung erstaunlicherweise entgangen ist, obwohl dieser Sachverhalt nach einem Blick in das BHSD ins Auge springt. Mit *ratnamerave*, 21b2 setzt im Gv eine neue Namenreihe ein: *prathamo jino ratnamerus*, Gv 256,26*, die nun bis zum letzten in der Sammlung erhaltenen Namen *śrīpradīpāya*, 29b5 genau dem Vorbild des Gv entspricht, wenn auch leichte Abweichungen in der Gestalt einzelner Namen durchaus vorkommen.

So lautet etwa der bereits erwähnte letzte Name im Gv *giripradīpa*,

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Gv 259,18*. Obwohl eine Beurteilung dieser Abweichung dadurch erschwert wird, daß der textkritische Apparat zur Gv-Ausgabe nie erschienen ist, so scheint doch im Lichte der nicht seltenen Namen mit dem halbmittelindischen Element *śiri* die *dhāraṇī*-Sammlung einen besseren Text zu bieten, die zudem den Text dem klassischen Sanskrit annähert, wo die Metrik des Gv dies verbieten würde. Nur in den *dhāraṇīs* selbst wird die ältere Form bewahrt: *tayathā śiri śiri*, 29b5. Dadurch wird es wahrscheinlich, daß die *dhāraṇī*-Sammlung ihren Namen aus dem Gv entlehnt hat. Nur selten scheinen sich echte Namenvariationen zu finden. So scheint für *guṇaghoṣa*, Gv 258, 7* in den *dhāraṇīs* [*guṇa*]*megha*, 22a3 zu stehen. Daraus läßt sich ebenso wie aus den Inschriften (vgl. oben zu Nr. 99) ablesen, daß sich aus vorgegebenen Bausteinen immer neue Varianten gewinnen ließen. Trotzdem entsprechen sich die beiden Texte in der Regel so genau, daß sich alle Lücken in der vorgelegten Ausgabe der *dhāraṇī*-Sammlung schließen lassen. Außerdem ergibt sich, daß die korrekte Lesung statt *asaṃbhava*°, 28b5 vielmehr *susaṃbhava*°, Gv 259,15* ist. Zugleich zeigt dieser Text, wie aus den Namen der Tathāgatas die *mantras* einer *dhāraṇī* gewonnen werden können (vgl. BERNHARD 1967).

Die enge Verbindung der Inschriften zu den *dhāraṇī*-Texten spricht dafür, daß es sich auch bei ersteren um eine Art Schutzzauber handeln könnte, allerdings wohl von einer allgemeineren Natur, wenn man an die individuellen Schutzformeln denkt, die handschriftlich in den Gilgit-Manuskripten erhalten sind (v. HINÜBER 1981). Dies wiederum rückt die Inschriften und die Handschriften eng zusammen und betont, wie sehr beide in derselben Tradition des Buddhismus stehen. Die reichen Inschriftenfunde am oberen Indus geben so einen tiefen Einblick in den lebendigen Buddhismus um die Mitte des ersten nachchristlichen Jahrtausends, der zugleich die engen Verbindungen dieses Gebietes zu Zentralasien immer klarer hervortreten läßt. Obwohl diese Bindungen unverkennbar sind, so sollte doch auch bedacht werden, daß aus Indien für diese Zeit Vergleichbares vielleicht nur deswegen nicht überliefert ist, weil es den Untergang des Buddhismus in seinen eigentlichen Kernlanden nicht überlebt hat. Die Beziehungen des Nordwestens zu Zentralasien mögen daher noch enger erscheinen, als sie tatsächlich waren.

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Abkürzungen

BAVA – Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie
BEFEO – Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient
BHSD – F. Edgerton: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary. New Haven 1953. (Nachdruck Delhi 1970)
CPD – V. Trencker: A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Kopenhagen 1924ff.
IIJ – Indo-Iranian Journal
JRAS – Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
KT – H.W. Bailey: Khotanese Texts. III, V Cambridge 1956 (Nachdruck 1969), 1963
KBT – H.W. Bailey: Khotanese Buddhist Texts. Cambridge ²1981
ZAS – Zentralasiatische Studien
ZDMG – Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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LORE SANDER

REMARKS ON THE FORMAL BRĀHMĪ OF GILGIT, BĀMIYĀN, AND KHOTAN

with an Appendix of Selected Inscriptions from Thor North (Pakistan)

In recent years O. von HINÜBER has several times called attention to the close relationship between the Buddhist centres of Gilgit and Khotan. This relationship is not only reflected by Khotanese names and titles in colophons of Gilgit mss., as e.g. *baysa-kkarjannyavīra*, the title *lera* (v. HINÜBER 1980a: 76, 78), or the name of a donor's wife called *āysātika-sumonviltā* (v. HINÜBER 1982: 59), but also by a common literary tradition, as to be seen from the popularity of the Saṃghāṭasūtra (v. HINÜBER 1982: 51–53) and the Bhaiṣajyagurusūtra (EMMERICK[1] 1979a: 20, 28) in both regions, to mention only two of them. Furthermore, Gīḍagītti occurs in an itinerary of a Buddhist, who describes his route from some unidentified places in Central Asia to Kashmir (BAILEY 1936; 1968). He passed Gilgit and Chilās on his way to the south-west. Even from this broad outline of cultural exchange one can assume that it may also have had some influence on the Brāhmī script, which was used in both regions.

The Khotanese Brāhmī is attested in two main types, a formal and a cursive one. The formal Brāhmī script was exclusively used for writing sacred Buddhist texts, and the cursive one more often for secular subjects (already HOERNLE 1916/1970: XIV). Secular

1 My warmest thanks to Professor EMMERICK who provided me with photos from Khotanese mss. Professor BECHERT contributed photos of Sanskrit mss. from the German Turfan collection for which I am very grateful.

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subjects are seldom treated in Gilgit mss. Only scanty fragments of medical texts are preserved (v. HINÜBER 1979 & addenda). The colophons reflect different writing habits in Gilgit and Khotan. In Khotanese mss. they are often written in cursive Brāhmī script
Pl. 206 and clearly separated from the sacred text. In Gilgit mss., on the other hand, the colophons are written rather carelessly[2], but not in a cursive script: the shapes of the *akṣaras* do not differ from those of the formal Brāhmī script.

Already F.W. THOMAS (1954) mentioned in his article "Brāhmī Script in Central-Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts" two types of formal script characteristic of the region of Gilgit and Bāmiyān. One he
Pl. 203 described as "calligraphic ornate script" and the other one as a script not confined to this region only, but common to northern India from the end of the sixth to the seventh century A.D. In the region of Gilgit it preceded the Śāradā script, as is clearly to be seen by comparing the mss. from the Gilgit "stūpa" with the inscriptions of the Chambā state (VOGEL 1911). Hence this
Pl. 196, 197 script was termed "Proto-Śāradā" by O. von HINÜBER. In my palæographical study on Sanskrit mss. from the Prussian Turfan collection it is named "Gilgit/Bāmiyān type II" in contrast to the calligraphic ornate type termed there "Gilgit/Bāmiyān type I" (SANDER 1968: 123, 135).

It is the calligraphic ornate script which can be defined as a local script of the northwestern provinces between Gilgit and Bāmiyān. The observations of F.W. THOMAS upon this script were based on the reproductions in S. LÉVI's article (1932) from mss. found by HACKIN at Bāmiyān. His work was developed by myself with the help of photos from the museum in Kabul, the mss. in the Prussian Turfan collection, and on one medical text found by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan near Bāmiyān in 1966 and published by P. PAULY[3]. This increased material

2 Cf. LOKESH CHANDRA, Vol. 5, 1970: 675; Vol. 7, 1974: 1315; Vol. 8, 1974: 1864, 1866, 1867, 1947, 1948; Vol. 9, 1974: 2415, 2416; Vol. 10, 1974: 3051, 3346.

3 273–283; without citing P. PAULY reanalysed by Yutaka OJIHARA, Ms. 1983. The manuscript was kindly placed at my disposal by Professor von HINÜBER. – I thank Professor EMMERICK for his information that the abstracts of the conference have now been published.

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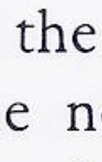
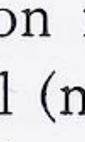
made it possible to show how this local script developed from the Kuṣāṇa period onwards up to the sixth century A.D., ending with the calligraphic ornate type (SANDER 1968: 123–30). *Pl. 203*
The evolution, not reflected by the Gilgit ms. find, is confirmed by the Brāhmī inscriptions found in the area of Gilgit (cf. appendix, pp. 119 ff). The inscriptions from the Alam Bridge were first transcribed and published by G. FUSSMAN (1978). H. HUMBACH (1980a; cf. FUSSMAN 1980: 461) reread them and added in many cases palæographical notes concerning *akṣaras* which he interpreted differently from FUSSMAN. These Brāhmī inscriptions cover a period from the Kuṣāṇa to the later Gupta era. Some of them resemble very closely mss. from Bāmiyān, e.g. the Kuṣāṇa inscription Pl. 14b in FUSSMAN's publication (HUMBACH No. 11), and the early Gupta inscription on Pl. 26 (FUSSMAN), equal to HUMBACH No. 22,12 (for details see SANDER 1983: 116f.).
Two Sanskrit inscriptions (No. 17, 66) can be recognized among the Sogdian inscriptions from the Shatial Bridge recently published by H. HUMBACH (1980b) and K. JETTMAR (1985: Pl. 18). One of them, No. 17, may be read *ādityo ihāgata* (cf. v. HINÜBER, p. 44). For palæographical reasons the initial *Ā* is of some interest because it shows the same bends on the left side as the initial Ā known from Khotanese and early mss. from the northern Silk Road  . Of more interest concerning the relationship between Gilgit and Khotan is the only Brāhmī inscription published in the same article (No. 93). It consists of the sanskritized Persian name *Śrī-kirdira-piroysasya*, on which HUMBACH commented: "Vom graphischen Standpunkt aus gesehen ist hier interessant, daß der stimmhafte Sibilant des Iranischen nach der im Khotansakischen geläufigen . . . Weise durch *ys* wiedergegeben wird" (1980b: 205). The Brāhmī of this inscription resembles closely that of several mss. from Bāmiyān and Qizil (northern Silk Road). Thus, the akṣara *ro*  with the vertical bend up to the left, and the *s-* in the ligature *sya* have almost the same shape as in the mss. from Bāmiyān and Qizil. Both the mss. and inscription may be dated with some certainty to the fifth century A.D. in accordance with one Gupta inscription from Mathurā cut in the same style and dated 135 of the Gupta era (FLEET 1888: 263, Pl. XXXIX A). It is the *Pl. 203*

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same inscription as was already used by H. LÜDERS for dating the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā ms. from Qizil (1926: 12 / 1979: 130),
Pl. 203 which was written in the same style (alphabet h) but is perhaps to be dated somewhat earlier.

The examples of Brāhmī inscriptions published by K. JETTMAR in two articles (1980; 1981) show the fully developed calligraphic ornate style (JETTMAR 1980, T. 2 = 1981, T. 4; further T. 3.1; 9.2; 11.1,2) side by side with the Proto-Śāradā inscriptions[4].

It is of considerable importance for the palæography of Gilgit and Bāmiyān to explain how the change from the very elaborate calligraphic ornate style to the Proto-Śāradā may have taken place. In my article "Einige neue Aspekte zur Entwicklung der Brāhmī in Gilgit und Bāmiyān" (SANDER 1983), I gave some examples of Kuṣāṇa and Gupta mss. from Bāmiyān and Qizil written in the eastern or Allāhābād style. There is some probability that the eastern style may have influenced the development towards the Proto-Śāradā in India and perhaps also in this region. Some Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta mss. from Bāmiyān
Pl. 198, 199 and Qizil show the typical features from the eastern style: straighter, narrower, and less ornate lines than the calligraphic western style, the early Gupta *ma*, and especially the *akṣaras la* and *ha*, clearly different from those of the western style. Still more than in North India, where at least the simple *ma* of the eastern style became predominant, the western style succeeded in the northwestern border provinces, where also the old Mathurā *ma* remained unchanged for centuries. But the knowledge of the eastern style, as poor as it may have been, may have helped to pave the way for the introduction of the Proto-Śāradā. The suggestion made by O. von HINÜBER that the Proto-Śāradā script may have been introduced by an official act, as by Navasurendrādityanandin of the Paṭola-ṣāhi dynasty, who was the first to use the title *paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājātirāja parameśvara paṭola ṣāhi śrī* (v. HINÜBER 1982: 60), cannot be followed without hesitation. Although there may have been an official act,

4 JETTMAR 1980, T. 4 (*mātu khirena* compare JETTMAR 1981, T. 9.2 *mātuṃ khirasya*, this inscription is written in the calligraphic ornate type); JETTMAR 1981, T. 8.2; 11.1.

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it surely was not Navasurendrādityanandin who proclaimed it. The Hātūn rock inscription of Navasurendrādityanandin shows a comparatively late state of development of the Proto-Śāradā script, e.g. the letter *ya* has always the modern shape य, while the old form of *ya* is still preserved in several Proto-Śāradā mss.[5]. Other Gilgit mss. show a transitional state in which the two forms appear side by side, or *ya* is written with a loop य. From the palæographical point of view the Proto-Śāradā was most probably introduced into this region not much before the beginning of the seventh century A.D., a time when the Brāhmī of the northern part of the peninsula became remarkably uniform (DANI 1963: 109). But Navasurendrādityanandin could not have ruled at this time, even according to O. von HINÜBER's very early date for his reign (v. HINÜBER 1982: 63). However, the local scribes and copyists trained in writing the calligraphic ornate script had to learn how to write the Proto-Śāradā which is quite different from the calligraphic ornate type. At the beginning both types of script may have existed side by side. O. von HINÜBER was able to prove that one ms. of the Saṃghāṭasūtra written in the calligraphic ornate script was directly transcribed into a Proto-Śāradā copy (v. HINÜBER 1982: 52f.). Later on, the calligraphic ornate type may have gone completely out of use. Some perhaps early examples from Gilgit, Bāmiyān, and Qizil written in Proto-Śāradā show remarkable traces of the old habit of embellishing the *akṣaras* with knots, as is clearly shown on the two folios published by S. LÉVI (1932: 1–45), one No. 6b with a fragment from the Saṅgītiparyāya, and the other No.

5 Cf. SANDER 1968, alphabet Pl. 22–26. – Compared with the Śāradā inscription from Hund (Ep.Ind. XXI: 97–98) the Hātūn inscription (Ep. Ind. XXX: 226–31) of Navasurendrādityanandin shows some letters less developed, as *ṇa* and the diacritic signs for *-i* and *-o*. The Hund inscription is dated 168/169 of an unknown era, according to the Harṣa era 774/775 A.D. Following J.Ph. VOGEL's chronology the earliest Śāradā documents cannot be dated much before the middle of the ninth century (1911: 46f.). According to it the Hund inscription should be dated one century later. But the chronology of the Śāradā script is far from being certain, and still open to speculations. The script on the Kashmir bronze published by PAL (1975, No. 31) shows nearly the same stage of development as the script of the Hātūn inscription.

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1b, identified by LÉVI as "Avadāna de Saṃgharakṣita" (cf.
Pl. 199 "Gilgit 1")[6].

A palæographical reason for the sudden popularity of the Proto-Śāradā script may be suggested. Due to the introduction of a new-shaped *kalem*, the fashion of writing in northern India underwent a considerable change. Mss. and inscriptions written before the late sixth century A.D. show comparatively regular lines. Later on, the lines vary between thick and thin ones as
Pl. 200 a result of a slanting shaped tip of the pen. The introduction of this pen had a revolutionary effect upon Indian and Central Asian scripts. It became fashionable to use the new invention[7]. But the very elaborated ornate Gilgit/Bāmiyān script with its tiny, knotted *akṣaras* was not suitable for being written with such a pen. It could only have been developed to such an artistic degree with the help of the pen with a pointed or somewhat square tip that was formerly in common use. The new pen required a script with clear straight lines such as that known from the Proto-Śāradā mss.

Although the kingdoms of Kučā and Khotan had adopted the ornate type of script, they did not develop it to such an artistic degree as is known from mss. written in the calligraphic ornate type. Mss. in Sanskrit, and somewhat later in Tocharian and Khotanese language, found in the Kučā and Domoko oases, prove that from about the fifth to the sixth century A.D. scribes of Tocharian and Khotanese origin may first have copied Sanskrit mss. most of which were written in the ornate style. They used Chinese paper instead of the Indian palm-leaf as their writing material, and cut the paper according to the palm-leaf shape. At first their attempts had been comparatively clumsy. The neat and narrow lines of the palm-leaf patterns were written larger and also rather more legible. This attempt may be exemplified by two paper mss.: one, found at Šorčuq near Qarašähr, is written in Sanskrit, and the other one is a Khotanese ms. from the Hoernle collection (H. 144 NS. 83) most probably originating from

6 A striking example of the transitional state of development from the calligraphic ornate type to the Proto-Śāradā is published in SHT 1, Cat.-No. 643, T. 39.

7 DANI 1963: 133 wrongly speaks of the "twist of the pen".

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the Domoko oasis (GROPP 1974: 31; THOMAS 1954: 692). The similarity of the ductus is obvious. Both mss. have knots at the end of their verticals, well-known from the calligraphic ornate types, as can be seen from the *akṣara ka* (Šorčuq ms. v3: *śrāvakaḥ*; Khotanese ms. a3: *jānāka*). They are written with a pen that was either pointed or had a small square tip. But the general appearance should not obscure the differences in details. The Šorčuq ms. has e.g. the typical Gilgit/Bāmiyān *tha* (cf. Pl. 203 *thā*), round, and curved on the right (Pl. 201 r2 *kathaṃ*), while the scribe of the Khotanese ms. wrote a more angular *akṣara* curved on the left (Pl. 202 a5 *anyattīrthyānu*). This form is common to the North Indian Gupta inscriptions, and the Proto-Śāradā mss., and it is found comparatively seldom in some Gupta mss. from the northern rim of the Tarim basin (SANDER 1968: 94, T. III; 148, T. V; annex: T. 17, 21). The diacritic sign for marking the long vowel *Ā* also differs in the two mss. In the Šorčuq ms. it is a loop added to the end of the vertical (v3 *ātmana*), in the Khotanese ms. it is marked by a small hook added to the middle of the vertical line (a2 *āysda*). Both features correspond well with the later development of these *akṣaras* in the northern and southern routes respectively. Nevertheless, the differences are slight, and the Brāhmī used by the Tocharians and Sakas at about the fifth century A.D. is approximately the same[8]. Another peculiarity common to the Tocharians and Sakas is the use of the dieresis (first mentioned HOERNLE 1916/1970: XVI) to indicate a vowel in general representing /ə/ in the Tocharian dialects[9] and /ẹ/ and /ə/ in Khotanese, according to R.E. EMMERICK "a result of the palatalisation of Old Iranian /a/" (1979a: 8; details 1979b: 239–50). Another common feature is the Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* found in both Tocharian and early Khotanese ms. The point of the diacritic sign is bent to the upper right side , in contrast

Pl. 201, 202

Pl. 204

8 SANDER 1968: 4. One folio with text from the 13th chapter of the "Book of Zambasta" (EMMERICK 1968) in Khotanese language and written in "Early Turkestan Brāhmī" was found in the "Handschriften-Höhle" at Šorčuq. It was published by KONOW 1912.

9 For details see: KRAUSE, THOMAS 1960: 39, note 1; NORMIER 1980; ISEBAERT 1983.

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to the *-e* and *-ai* in Gilgit, Bāmiyān, and North Indian documents, where the point is turned to the lower left side . Both shapes
Pl. 202 are to be found in the Khotanese ms. (a3 *haberāmate*), while the
Pl. 201 Šorčuq ms. has preserved only the Indian form. All mss. containing Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* have been termed by myself "Early Turkestan Brāhmī"[8]. Like most such terms, this is somewhat artificial. The Sanskrit fragment from Šorčuq, which does not contain Central Asian *-e* and *-ai*, cannot have been written much earlier than the Khotanese one. But it is classified in accordance with the definition as belonging to the "Turkestan Gupta type". Nevertheless, Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* are key features of the northern route as already stated by A.F.R. HOERNLE (first mentioned 1893: 4). Among the southern Turkestan types of Brāhmī script they are found only in the earlier mss. Later on, the Indian forms of *-e* and *-ai* predominate again (Pl. 204 *ke*).

Khotanese material written in "Early Turkestan Brāhmī" is comparatively rare. It is followed chronologically by three more or less different types. According to my terms for the Brāhmī of the northern Silk Road, I name them: "Early South Turkestan Brāhmī", "South Turkestan Brāhmī", the main type, and "Late South Turkestan Brāhmī". Some characteristics of these Brāhmī types will be discussed later.

Unlike the northern rim of the Tarim basin, where the Brāhmī tradition existed uninterrupted from the Kuṣāṇa period (SANDER 1968: 2–6, 43–47), on the southern route the Brāhmī script was most probably not used before the fifth century A.D. It only slowly drove back the Kharoṣṭhī script (BERNHARD 1970: 55–62). The events leading to this change are obscure (EMMERICK 1979a: 1–5; GROPP 1974: 31). It was assumed by F. BERNHARD that the Hīnayāna tradition of the Dharmaguptaka school, using Northwest Prakrit or Gāndhārī as their language and Kharoṣṭhī as their script, may have sent the first Buddhist missionaries to Central Asia. It may be that the increasing popularity of the school of the Sarvāstivādins/Mūlasarvāstivādins from the Kuṣāṇa era onwards, using Sanskrit as their language and Brāhmī as their script, had driven back the Dharmaguptakas. At the same time the Mahāyāna movement became popular and spread to Khotan. Approximately from the fifth century onwards, Sanskrit texts were translated into Khotanese, which were the

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source of a flourishing literary culture in Khotan. Moreover, the introduction of the Brāhmī script was not hindered by orthographical problems arising from the need to represent Iranian phonemes not existing in Sanskrit and in the Prakrits. This problem had already been solved centuries ago by using ligatures for them as *ys-* for the voiced sibilant /z/ (v. HINÜBER 1980b: 121–27). The inscription from the Shatial Bridge, mentioned above, is a recently discovered example of it.

However the transition from the Kharoṣṭhī to the Brāhmī script may have taken place, the development of the Brāhmī in Khotan is well documented from the fifth to about the tenth century A.D. After Qadr Khan Yusuf conquered Khotan in 1006 A.D. (GROPP 1974: 37), the kingdom became Islamic, and as a result the Arabic script was introduced. The Brāhmī type following the "Early Turkestan Brāhmī" described above is termed "Early South Turkestan Brāhmī", for it is confined to the southern route only. Many more mss. written in this type of script are preserved in the collections than there are in the earlier type. The best known ms. has the signature Or. 9609 of the British Library. It contains 28 folios of the Suvarṇabhāsa, written in regular Old Khotanese language. It is now being prepared for publication by P.O. SKJAERVØ. Its script may be characterized as being broader and less ornamented than that of the preceding type. It shows the typical features of a script written with a pen with a slanting tip: variation of thin and thick lines. But the general appearance of the *akṣaras* is still somewhat roundish and not as angular as in the later types. The *akṣaras* themselves do not differ much from those mss. written in the "Early Turkestan Brāhmī" type. The use of the Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* interchanges with the Indian forms as in the ms. discussed before (Pl. 205 r3 twice: *ttye*). The dots symbolizing the diacritic sign *-ä* are nearly round, not as drop-shaped or square as in the later mss., and they are placed at a clearly marked distance from each other. The use of the pen with a slanting tip allows us to date tentatively the mss. written in this type of script to the end of the sixth to the seventh century A.D., when this pen came into use (SANDER 1983: 121). *Pl. 205*

The "Early South Turkestan Brāhmī" is followed by the "South Turkestan Brāhmī" type, best represented by the so-called

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"Kashgar Saddharmapuṇḍarīka" Sanskrit ms. (LOKESH CHANDRA 1976; TODA 1981), and the Khotanese ms. Z^1 of the "Book of Zambasta"[10]. Both mss. most probably come from one of the sites in the oasis Chira Domoko (GROPP 1974: 27; EMMERICK 1978: 391). The majority of the Khotanese mss. in formal Brāhmī script are written in this type. They belong to the most prosperous period of the kingdom of Khotan between the seventh and the ninth century A.D. (GROPP 1974: 35f.). The style is markedly different from that of the Suvarṇabhāsa ms. The difference to be noted first is the tendency to straighter lines, which emphasizes the variation of thick and thin lines and creates a calligraphic impression. It is much better adapted to the possibilities of the slanting tip of the pen than the script of the Suvarṇabhāsa ms., and it reflects a general tendency of the Brāhmī script of the seventh century already discussed in detail in connection with the introduction of the Proto-Śāradā into Gilgit and Bāmiyān. The main ms. for the "Book of Zambasta" is one of the older examples within this type of script. The writer seldom uses Central Asian *-e* and *-ai*, and, when he does, it is usually because not enough space is left for the Indian shaped one (LEUMANN 1934: 8; SANDER 1984). In other mss., mainly prose texts, Central Asian *-e* and *-ai* no longer appear. Another difference to be observed is the form of the dieresis. The two dots are no longer round as in the Suvarṇabhāsa ms., and in some, perhaps younger mss. of this type they are written very close together, a tendency still further developed in the "Late South Turkestan Brāhmī". During this period the cursive script of this region begins to influence the formal Brāhmī, as is exemplified later.

Pl. 206

The last stage of development can be observed in the case of Dun-huang mss. written in the "Late South Turkestan Brāhmī". They belong most probably to the tenth century or later, when Khotan tried to obtain an alliance with the Chinese kings of Shachou (GROPP 1974: 36). It was this type of Khotanese Brāhmī only that was used by A.F.R. HOERNLE for his analysis of the

10 Published by EMMERICK 1968; Facsimile edition: VOROB'EV-DESJATOVSKIJ i VOROB'EVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1965. In E. LEUMANN's first edition 1933–34, the ms. was named 'E'.

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Khotanese script in "Manuscript Remains of Eastern Turkestan" (1916/1970: XVIf.). There is a remarkable change of style compared with the "South Turkestan Brāhmī". The Indian shaped *-e* and *-ai* are now exclusively used. It has sometimes a very elegant flow , different from the more knotted forms in the earlier mss., but it is also different from that of the cursive script, which retained the Central Asian form. Still more striking are the different forms of some *akṣaras*. There is a tendency to divide *akṣaras* into two separately written parts: note especially *sa* and *ma* (Pl. 207 Fol. 5 r2 *samyasambuddhāya*, Fol. 6 r2 *svāhā*). This tendency is certainly due to the influence of the cursive script (Fol. 7 r2 *aparämittāyäsūttra*, r1 *svāhā*). Also the looped diacritic sign for *-i* (Fol. 5 r1 *aparamittāyu*) is borrowed from the cursive script. It already occurs in the ms. Z^1 of the "Book of Zambasta", where it is used only for the special purpose of setting off *si* in *siddham*. In some other, perhaps younger mss., written in the "South Turkestan Brāhmī", the use of this form of *-i* is also attested in connection with other *mātṛkās*. Another influence of the cursive script that is still more striking is the habit of writing initial vowels, except *U*, as *A* plus the diacritic sign. A.F.R. HOERNLE[11] emphasized it as typical for Khotanese mss. as opposed to Sanskrit ones, but that is hardly correct since it is confined to this type of script. The beginning of this development can already be observed in the ms. Z^1, which has the long initial vowel *Ī* quite frequently written as *A* plus the diacritic sign for *-ī* , and even in the Suvarṇabhāsa ms. this type of *Ī* is frequently attested. It is used in both mss. side by side with the inherited Brāhmī form, consisting of three dots or hooks developing to lozenges plus diacritic *-ī* . Another difference from the alphabet of the ms. Z^1 is the use of nearly identically shaped *pa* and *ma* (Pl. 207 Fol. 5 r1 *aparamittāyu*). In the late mss. from Dun-huang the same development of *ma* took place as in India during the early Gupta period. *ma* and *pa* in the Proto-Śāradā mss. are also hardly to be distinguished. An adaptation from the cursive script is not possible because the

Pl. 207

11 A.F.R. HOERNLE's idea that the cursive script of Khotan may have been influenced by the Kharoṣṭhī seems to be plausible, at least concerning the use of *A* plus diacritics; cf. HOERNLE 1911: 448f.

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cursive *ma* resembles much more the sign from mss. of the northern route (SANDER 1968, alphabet r, Pl. 32). In the cursive script it is clearly distinct from *pa* (Pl. 207 Fol. 7 r2 *aparāmittāyāsūttra*). It must accordingly be due either to a late influence of the Proto-Śāradā, or, as seems more plausible, to an indigenous development. *ma* and the Indian form of the diacritic sign for *-e* and *-ai* would be, in fact, the only *akṣaras* in common with the Proto-Śāradā apart from those which had been passed on unchanged for centuries such as *tha* and *ra*. The beginning of this development can already be observed in some, perhaps younger mss., still classified as belonging to the "South Turkestan Brāhmī" type, which is here only represented by the early ms. Z^1. In these mss. the left part of *ma*, originally written , has been straightened .

From these observations one may conclude that the early local Brāhmī of Gilgit and Bāmiyān had been the basis of the different developments of the Brāhmī scripts on both sides of the Tarim basin: among the Tocharians in the north and the Sakas in the south at about the fifth to the sixth century A.D. Khotanese and Tocharian Brāhmī scripts may have had some influence on each other, as can be seen from the common use of the dieresis in Tocharian, Tumšuq Saka, and Khotanese mss., and from the fact that the *akṣara ma* in cursive Khotanese mss. was most probably adopted from the Brāhmī of the northern route. The influence of the pen with the slanting tip is reflected by all Brāhmī types in this region written from the seventh century onwards. But its possibility for creating calligraphic effects was best used by the scribes of mss. written in Proto-Śāradā, South Turkestan Brāhmī, and Late South Turkestan Brāhmī. From about the seventh century onwards the development of the formal Brāhmī of Khotan was mainly influenced by the cursive script of this region. The western influence of the Proto-Śāradā cannot be proved with any certainty.

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Appendix
Brāhmī Graffiti from "Thor North" near Chilās (Pakistan)

While I spent one week in Heidelberg in January 1984 Professor JETTMAR kindly allowed me to go through his collection of photos of Brāhmī inscriptions of the Indus valley[12], most of them found at Chilās and its vicinity (DANI 1983). According to the information of Dr. THEWALT most of the inscriptions were engraved into the patina of stone boulders by means of stones with pointed tips. In course of time these graffiti were patinated again, one reason for their good state of preservation in a rough climate. Due to the process of patination different layers can be recognized on the rocks, which may be a help for dating. Among the graffiti there are several from "Thor North" not yet published. "Thor North" is situated not very far from Chilās down the Indus river in the direction of Shatial Bridge.

The Brāhmī inscriptions of this find spot are of special palæographical interest because they cover a period of approximately six centuries (third to the eighth century A.D.). The script of some of the graffiti resembles closely that of palm-leaf mss. from the Prussian Turfan collection found at Qizil on the northern Silk Road. The following interpretations of selected graffiti from "Thor North" have to be regarded as tentative; most of them are names.

1. Perhaps the oldest graffito of this place is the short one in the middle of the rock on Pl. 56 reading: *maṇiveśa* xxxx; *Pl. 56*
the last *akṣaras* are perhaps intentionally distorted. The meaning may be: "(For?) Maṇiveśa[13] (one whose dress or appearance is jewels)". The most interesting feature of this graffito are the decorative shapes of the medial vowel *-i* (*ṇi*) and

12 My warmest thanks to Dr. THEWALT for his kind hospitality and help. He provided me with photos of the inscriptions chosen out of piles of expedition photos.

13 One graffito, still older, from the Kuṣāṇa period is published by FUSSMAN 1978, Pl. XIV, No. 23 = HUMBACH 1980a: 101, No. 11. – For *maṇiveśa/maṇiveṣa* cf. v. HINÜBER, p. 44, No. 15.

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-*e* (*ve*). It is a very early example for a decorative inscription, for most of them seem to belong to the Gupta era[14]. Apart from the decorative shapes of the medial vowels, the script of this graffito has close resemblance to *akṣaras* of the Kuṣāṇa alphabet c discussed in detail in my palæographical study on mss. of the Prussian Turfan collection. Alphabet c was compiled from palm-leaf mss. found at Qizil (SANDER 1968: 60–63, 81–83, Pl. 1–8). *ma* is transitional between the Kuṣāṇa *ma* and the Gupta ones, the last of which is characteristic of Mathurā, the northwestern provinces, and Central Asia. The transitional form corresponds with that of the basic ms. for alphabet c, Cat.-Nr. 649 (SHT 1, Pl. 4), which was dated to the late Kuṣāṇa period (SANDER 1968: 81–83).

2. On the second graffito in the proposed chronological order
Pl. 209 *vasuṃdovasyo* can be deciphered, what in accordance with Professor von HINÜBER is a miswriting for *vasudevasya*. The script is very close to that of ms. Cat.-No. 19a in the Prussian Turfan collection (SHT 1, Pl. 6), which is the basis of alphabet f in my palæographical study (SANDER 1968: 101) and is dated to the third to fourth century A.D. The similarity between the inscription and the ms. is obvious from the ductus, characteristic of which are extremely long diacritic signs for -*u* in *suṃ* and the shape of the subscribed -*y*- in *syo* (SHT 1, Pl. 6, Cat.-No. 19a a2: *syād*).

Pl. 210 3. The style of writing in the graffito following next differs clearly. The *akṣaras* are written broader than those on the inscription above. They are nearly right-angled, a typical feature of the Mathurā style. The graffito reads: *viṣṇusena*[15] *prāpta nara*. The meaning is not quite clear, perhaps: "Viṣṇusena has reached

14 SALOMON 1982: 95. According to SALOMON the "shell inscriptions" are often found together with ornate inscriptions at one site (107f.), which may be of some interest for the decipherment of ornate inscriptions from Chilās (cf. DANI 1983: 77, No. 57). Moreover, shell and ornate inscriptions have often the same contents as the graffiti of the Indus valley, they "represent personal names inscribed as 'pilgrims' records by visitors to the various sites" (97).

15 -*i* has a peculiar shape, it is turned to the right side as -*ī* and not to the left.

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Nara (a locality ?)". The subscribed *-ṇ-* in *ṣṇu* still resembles the Kuṣāṇa sign, as well as the *na* written very flat and can easily be distinguished from *ta*. These three late Kuṣāṇa graffiti are followed by the Gupta ones, the next two of which (4 and 5) may belong to the very early Gupta period, about the fourth century A.D.

4. Two graffiti can be recognized on Pl. 63, one of which is hardly legible: *saha x x x x sya*. *sya* at the end points to a name, "For N.N.". The reading of the other one is also not beyond doubt: *sīhāvarma* or *sāhāvarma pracarati*: "Sī(ā)hāvarma arrives". The ductus of the two graffiti resembles that of the preceding one No. 3 (Pl. 210), but the *akṣaras* have somewhat more developed shapes, especially the curved *ra*, and *-m-* in *rma* which stands intermediate between the Kuṣāṇa and the Gupta *akṣara*, but tending towards the Gupta one in comparison with the *ma* on the graffito No. 1 (Pl. 56). *Pl. 63*

5. The next graffito under discussion is engraved on the same rock as the late Kuṣāṇa inscription No. 1[16]. *viṣṇudevvasya* is undoubtedly to be read, meaning: "For Viṣṇudeva". The *-ṇ-* in *ṣṇu* can be compared with *ṣṇu* on the graffito No. 3 (Pl. 210). The *akṣaras* differ in one point: the two parts of *-ṇ-* are written closer to each other in graffito No. 3 in accordance with the *ṇa* known from Kuṣāṇa inscriptions and mss., while in the graffito under discussion the lower part is slightly extended , which is characteristic of the Gupta *ṇa*. The left part of *s-* in *sya* is bent upwards forming a loop, and *-y-* is curved high up to the upper end of *s-* (*sya*). This ligature tends toward shapes known from the calligraphic ornate style. It is also similar to the *sya* of the graffiti on Pl. 212 (8b), and Pl. 213 (8c), although the style of writing differs. *Pl. 56*

6. The next one in order is a Gupta graffito on the same rock as No. 2. In addition to graffito No. 2 two further inscriptions can be clearly recognized on the photo. The upper one may be read: *miravarma-sidha* (*dha* is not sure) meaning: "Miravarma, *Pl. 211*

16 There are traces of two other inscriptions to be seen on the photo, but they are illegible. Professor von Hinüber kindly revised my readings in situ. According to him *viṣṇudevvasya* is followed by *naḥ*, meaning "for us".

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the Siddha" or "Miravarmasiddha"[17]. The script resembles somewhat that of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā ms. (SHT 1, Pl. 7; SANDER 1968, alphabet h, Pl. 9–20), but the ductus is different. The *akṣaras* are less round, more square. Especially the Gupta *ma* (*mi* and *rma*), and *ra*, bent up at its bottom , agree with the corresponding *akṣaras* of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā ms.

Pl. 211 7. Another graffito on the same plate (211) is to be read: *śrī devathoṭasya*[18], "For Śrī Devathoṭa". The ductus indicates that the graffito belongs to the predecessors of the calligraphic ornate type and script. The *akṣaras* have a more roundish shape compared with those of the graffito No. 6 (Pl. 211). *-ī* in *śrī* is bent in the same way as in mss. of the Turfan collection compiled in the alphabets h–k[19]. Only *tha* in *tho* differs from the normal shape of this type of script , but exceptions are also known from the Turfan mss. (SANDER 1968: 134). – The last three graffiti (No. 5–7) may belong to approximately the fifth century A.D.

The following five graffiti are of a very similar type. Its characteristic feature is a more or less visible slant. The *akṣaras* are not as carefully engraved as those of the inscriptions discussed above. These quickly written graffiti seem to be very common in this region. Among the inscriptions of the Alam Bridge it is the most prominent type too (FUSSMAN 1978, Pl. XXIV, No. 37, Alam Bridge, rocher 22), although most of them are of a more upright variety.

Pl. 57 8a. Two short graffiti can be recognized on Pl. 57. The first one on the upper left side of the photo may be deciphered as *rakṣasya*, followed at a small distance by *vījīvadasya*[19a], meaning: "For Rakṣa", respectively "For Vījīvada". The two words may also be interpreted as belonging to one inscription because they

17 *Sidha* miswritten for *siddha* may be a title of a Jina or Arhat, if it is not simply a part of the name. Cf. v. HINÜBER 1980a: 67 (VIIa 10) the name *sidhasigha*.

18 v. HINÜBER 1980a: 69 (119 b 7) the name *tthocasiṃgha* for *thocasiṃgha*.

19 SANDER 1968, alphabet h–k, Pl. 9–20. The difference between *-ī* in the alphabet e–g on the one side and h–k on the other is obvious (cf. Pl. 11f.).

19a Professor von Hinüber reads in situ *ratnasya*; *-vijāvadasya* is also possible.

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are engraved by the same carver. In this case the meaning would be: "For the protection of Vījīda".

On the right side of the photo is legible: [20] *devadha*[*r*]*māya*[*ṃ*][21] *jaisiṅgena*, "this is a religious gift from Jaisiṅga (for Skt. *jaya-siṅha* ?). Another word beginning with *ya* or *gha* follows where the photo breaks off.

8b. I am not able to decipher the graffito on Pl. 212 with any certainty. The meaning remains obscure. The provisional reading: *rakesya lī(ai)ṇaṃ ghatiya*[22]:. *Pl. 212*

8c. The reading and meaning of the graffito on Pl. 213 is also far from being certain. It seems to be a name ending as usual with the gen.sg. ending of the a-declension, with *sya*. My proposal for the reading of this graffito is: *lośvarakhatasya*, whatever the name means. A second graffito in a very faint script reads: *śrī viśravaṇase*[*na*][23]. *Pl. 213*

8d. The last graffito of this series is added to a pornographic scene which reminds scrawls still painted on public walls. It shows two men(?)[24] about to indulge in sexual intercourse. A naked *Pl. 214*

20 The interpretation of the symbol as a *maṅgala* sign, perhaps representing a conch shell, or *siddham*, or *oṃ* is still under discussion. A vast amount of material has to be gone through. Most of the mss. from Eastern Turkestan as well from the northern as from the southern route use at the beginning of a text *siddham* written with *akṣaras*. *si* is sometimes ornate. Gilgit inscriptions and mss. prefer, as far as I know, the symbol under discussion, but it is also found in the Bower ms. (see below). According to Champa Thupten Zongtse, in the Tibetan mss. and blockprints » «, » « has the function of denoting the recto sides of the folios. *oṃ* is always written ॐ, often followed by *svasti*. Dr. G. ROTH kindly informed me about an article by J.J. BOELES 1947: 40–56, who regards it as a *maṅgala* representing *oṃ* (cf. 43), and derives it from the initial vowel *O* (44), which is not convincing. Meanwhile, two articles dealing with this symbol are published by ROTH 1986: 239–249 and SANDER 1986: 251–61.

21 [ ] *akṣaras* added by the present writer, not written in the inscription. – About *deyadharma* and *devadharma* cf. v. HINÜBER 1980a: 54.

22 For Skt. *ghātya*? *ghā* is more probable than *ya* which always has a loop on the left side. Cf. Pl. 214 *drīrghāyuṣaṃ*.

23 The upper stroke of *-ī* in *śrī* is connected with the *-i* of *vi*.

24 It is not certain if the person is a man or a woman, but there is some probability that it might be a man. Cf. note 28.

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male(?) figure bends forward keeping hold of the edge of a big vessel in front of him. Another naked man about to practise sexual intercourse is standing behind him. The man(?) bent forward has his hair cut short. The male figure in action has his hair arranged in a bun at the back of his neck and he is wearing a mustache. Both of them are wearing earrings. This main scene is accompanied by two other erotic engravings. On the right side of the main group a man wearing a coat is depicted. He is indulging in sexual intercourse with an indeterminate dog-like animal. The man with the coat is still humblier engraved than the main group. The last drawing shows a masturbating man drawn in very faint lines. The graffito looks a bit similar, but clumsier than the main scene. The three pornographic drawings seem to have been executed by different hands. Therefore it is possible that the last two were additions to the inscribed scene. Professor JETTMAR kindly informed me about two Iranian (Parthian-Median) seals from the eighth to the seventh century B.C. which show the same motif (SURIEU 1979: 83). The similarity of the seals and the main drawing is striking, even the hair-styles of the two persons correspond. But there is a space of approximately fourteen centuries between the seals and the drawing from "Thor North", therefore it is not possible to see a direct connection between the two pictures. As long as the meaning of the seals are obscure, and the links between the two pictures are missing, it is impossible to think of another interpretation than that given above. Even the inscription helps little. Although most of the *akṣaras* are clearly readable, *drīrghāyuṣaṃ*[25] *kācarika*[26] *saha bhadrila*[27],

25 A hybrid form of the metathesis of liquids? Normally: *drigha°* for *dīrgha°*. Cf. MORGENSTIERNE 1947/1973: 233. – Cf. v. HINÜBER 1980a: 51f., esp. 52 *dhrarmedramatinā*. Cf. also *vryārghyāni* for *vyāghrya*, a comment to the Vyāghrī-Jātaka on a rock of Chilās I. – Except the normal meaning 'long-lived', Dr. ROTH kindly informed me that *dīrghāyus* is sometimes used as a honorific form of address. This meaning is not codified in the usual Sanskrit dictionaries, including F. EDGERTON's Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary. Cf. i.a. G. ROTH 1970: 135 (§ 158), 204 (§ 188), 294, note 13.

26 It may be a name, so that the whole inscription may have the meaning: "The honourable *Kācarika* with Bhadrila"; cf. note 28.

27 *bhadrilena* instr.sg. is to be expected with *saha*. For names ending with *-ila* cf. v. HINÜBER 1980a: 52.

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its interpretation is beyond my ability. Only *saha bhadrila* suggests that the sexual activities are performed with a person named Bhadrila, which speaks in favour of regarding the person keeping hold of the vessel as a man[28].

As mentioned above, the ductus of the script of all the five graffiti is approximately the same, but there are also similar *akṣara* shapes. *sa* and *sya* appear in all the inscriptions (Pl. 57, 212–214). The left part of *sa* is always written with a loop ञ, *-y-* (Pl. 57, 212, 213) has a very cursive shape ꣯ (*sya*). *ma* (Pl. 57 *mā* ꣯) and *ṇa* ꣯ (Pl. 212) show the typical Gupta form (cf. No. 5). All these features indicate that these inscriptions are very close to the calligraphic ornate type (SANDER 1968: 122, Pl. IV) without having the tiny knotted *akṣaras* typical for this script. It is perhaps a more cursive variety of it. Therefore, I think it is appropriate to date these graffiti to the sixth century A.D. (SANDER 1968: 134).

9. Only one graffito transitional between the Proto-Śāradā and the Śāradā found at "Thor North" is at my disposal. It is a two- *Pl. 215*

28 Because the hair-style of the person keeping hold of the vessel reminds one of the shaved head of a monk, and *dīrghāyus* is an expression often used in Buddhist literature in an auspicious sense, one may think of attributing to the main scene and the inscription a Buddhist meaning, concerning Pārājika rule 1 of the Vinaya. Several sexual practices forbidden for monks and nuns are enumerated there, among them *varco-mārga* which may have been depicted on the rock (cf. i.a. Pāli, Vinaya-piṭaka III, Ed. PTS: 28ff., esp. 34 || 3 ||). But the monk-like person wears earrings, what is strange for a monk, unless one regards them as symbols for an unrestrained life. It seems not to be without reason to interpret the erotic scenes as jeers at monks who did not behave according to their rules. – Professor von Hinüber suggests a simpler interpretation. He reads *kācarikā* instead of *kācarika*, but °*ka* at the end of the word is quite clear! Accordingly he regards the person bending over the vessel to be of female sex. In this case the meaning of the inscription is: "Drighāyuṣaṃ with Kācarikā". *bhadrila*, what is written at the right side of the male person, he considers to be an extra inscription. – For the coat of the man indulging in intercourse with an animal cf. Dani (1983: 105, No. 82) and Jettmar (1985: 17, Photo 16, Tafel 11). The two additional drawings speak also in favour of a homosexual scene.

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line graffito, reading: *tathā sārdhaṃ thāvaya-devasiṅgena*[29], "Together with Thāvaya(?)-Devasiṅga". This formula is well known from the colophons preserved in the Gilgit mss. (v. HINÜBER 1980a: 58–70), often preceded by *devadharmo 'yaṃ*. The second *akṣara thā* (SANDER 1968, Pl. 9, alphabet h) is unusual for this type of script. The normal shape of it is preserved in *thāvaya* (SANDER 1968, Pl. 21, alphabet m), while as written in *tathā* is a relic of the calligraphic ornate script, as to be seen in DANI's book on Chilās, No. 60, line 2 *tathāgatāya* (DANI 1983, No. 60: 79, 78 (transcription)). The only word the meaning of which is not clear is *thāvaya*. Is it a title? Most of the *akṣaras* of this inscription are very similar to the Śāradā types: especially the square-shaped *sa*, which looks in the Proto-Śāradā a bit more acute angled, *ya* having the modern form, the older shape of which is still preserved in the earlier Proto-Śāradā documents (cf. above p. 111), and *-e* in *ṅge* having no connection with the *ṅ-* (SANDER 1968, Pl. 23, 24, alphabet m and n). The script of the graffito represents just the border-type between Proto-Śāradā and Śāradā[30]. If we date it according to J.Ph. VOGEL (1911: 46f., Pl. XV), who dates the earliest Śāradā documents in the middle of the ninth century A.D., it cannot be much older than the second half of the eighth century A.D.

The graffiti of "Thor North" represent a variety of Brāhmī types used in Chilās and its vicinity from the third to about the end of the eighth century A.D. They all belong to local styles, and were probably engraved by inhabitants of this region, and not by travelling Indians passing through the sacred places near Chilās on their way to Central Asia and China.

29 *thavaya devasiṅgena* appears on another rock (No. 70) at Thor North written in the same type of script.

30 DANI 1983, No. 64 (83, 84), No. 65 (83, 86), No. 67 (85, 88), No. 68 (87, 90). If one compares these inscriptions with the Śāradā inscriptions of the Chamba state (VOGEL 1911), it becomes impossible to understand how DANI can speak of "Proto-Nāgarī" or "medieval inscription", or simply "late inscription". DANI writes on p. 72: "It is strange that Śāradā script is not adopted here". In fact, the inscriptions are written in Śāradā script.

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Abbreviations:

AO	–	Acta Orientalia
AVA	–	Allgemeine und vergleichende Archäologie
BEFEO	–	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient
C.I.I.	–	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum or Indicarum
Ep. Ind.	–	Epigraphia Indica; see CHAKRAVARTI and SAHNI
JA	–	Journal Asiatique
JASB	–	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JRAS	–	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
KZ	–	Kuhns Zeitschrift
NAWG	–	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften Göttingen
OL	–	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
SHT	–	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden; see WALDSCHMIDT
SPAW	–	Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin
T.	–	Table
VOHD	–	Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
ZDMG	–	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS

THE SOGDIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE UPPER INDUS: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

During September 1985 I had the opportunity to join the Pak-German team in Chilas in order to study the inscriptions in Middle Iranian languages found at various sites chiefly on the banks of the Indus.[1] I was able to visit all such sites so far discovered (except for a single inscription at an inaccessible location opposite Chilas II). Altogether I recorded about 610 Middle Iranian inscriptions, of which about ten are in Bactrian, two Parthian, two Middle Persian, and the rest Sogdian. The most important site by far is Shatial I, with about 560 Iranian inscriptions.[2]

About one-third of this material was published previously by Helmut HUMBACH.[3] Considering that HUMBACH was working solely from photographs, many of them general views of the rocks rather than details of the inscriptions, his decipherment is on the whole remarkably accurate. Nevertheless, the readings can

1 I take this opportunity to express my grateful thanks to Professor Karl Jettmar for inviting me to take part in the expedition; to Dr. Volker Thewalt and the rest of the team for making me so welcome and for their invaluable cooperation in the recording of the Iranian inscriptions; and to the British Academy, which (through the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum) funded my visit to Pakistan.

2 Inscriptions from Shatial I will here be cited by their serial numbers (e.g. 34-70, that is, Rock 34, Inscription 70), those from elsewhere by the name of the site alone.

3 HUMBACH, 1980: 201–228. For ease of comparison, the numbers assigned by HUMBACH (Nr. 1 to Nr. 137) will be cited here whenever reference is made to an already published inscription.

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in many cases be improved by direct examination of the stones themselves. Moreover, since the same names often recur, the new material often solves problems in the reading of the published inscriptions. However, a considerable part of the total corpus must be regarded as wholly or partly illegible.

The additional material is of the same type as that described and published by HUMBACH. Almost all the inscriptions are very short, generally consisting of a personal name, often with the addition of a patronymic. A typical example is *nnyprn ZK nnyβntk BRY* "Nanēfarn the son of Nanēvandak" (105-10 = Nr. 84; also 55-3). This "ideal" formula may be abbreviated by the omission of either or both of the words *ZK* "the" and *BRY* "son" as in the following examples: *nnyprn ZK nnyβntk* (106-1); *nn'rs'r kypcp'y BRY* (31-85 = Nr. 75; cf. *nn'rt'r* sic *ZK kypcp'y BRY*, 36-33);[4] *βrzyr'k m'ymrγc* (34-70; cf. *βrzyr'k ZK m'ymrγc BRY*, 31-57 = Nr. 59a, and *βrzyr'k 'βy'mnβntk ZKy m'ymrγc BRYN* "Varzīrak (and) Avyāmanvandak the sons of Māymarghch", 31-63 = Nr. 65c). In at least one case the name of the grandfather is added after that of the father: *rwδ'kk ZK mnδryny*(?) *šytγwnk*(?) *np'yš*[5] "Rōdhak the (son of) Manthrēnē(?), grandson of Shētghōnak(?)" (36-67 = Nr. 87b). In view of the frequent omission of *BRY* "son", one may presumably reckon with the omission of *np'yš(n)* "grandson" in an inscription such as *wxwšδβ'r ZK wxwšβntk n'p'ns'k* "Wakhush-dhvār the (son of) Wakhush-vandak, (grandson of) Nāfansāk" (36-86). Here there is other evidence to indicate that Nāfansāk is a personal name, cf. *n'p'ns'k ZK šyr'pδnk BR[Y] nr'y●●[*(?) (8-2 = Nr. 63b). HUMBACH's attractive suggestion that the final element in certain inscriptions may be a clan-name or an indication of the author's place of origin is unfortunately difficult to prove, since such words are not uncommonly employed as personal names. Thus, *wn'yptβntk*

4 The correct spelling of *nn'rs'r* (so written also in 17-16) or *nn'rt'r* (so also in 32-1) is uncertain. At least 36-33 makes it clear that *kypcp'y* is a single word, solving an apparent problem to which HUMBACH (1980: 202) has drawn attention: "Auffallend ist der Gebrauch von *ky* in *x'rs'r ky pcp'y BRY*".

5 Or possibly *np'yšn*, in agreement with the form of this word found elsewhere in Sogdian (cf. GERSHEVITCH, 1985: 265 and 277 n. 5).

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ZK krzt'yk m'ymrγc (31-86 = Nr. 70d)[6] seems as likely to mean "Wanēpatvandak the (son of) Karztīk, (grandson of) Māymarghch" (cf. *m'ymrγc* as personal name in 34-70 etc.) as "W. the (son of) K. from Māymargh".[7]

Inscriptions containing elements other than those already discussed are very rare. Exceptionally full are two identical inscriptions which read: *'pzymyδ ''γt nnyβntk ZK γwšprn BRY* "The day before yesterday(?) came Nanēvandak the son of Ghōshfarn" (34-115 and 105-8). The longest inscription of all (36-38 = Nr. 126) can be only partially interpreted: *nnyβntk ZK nrsβ ''γtkym kw 10*[8] *'ḤRZY MN k'rt βγncytk y'n pt'yst 't xrβšn*[9] *twxtr pr'ys'n rty ZKw 'ḤY pr šyr wyn'n ᶜM wγš'* "I, Nanēvandak the (son of) Narisaf, have come on (the) ten(th day)(?) and (have) begged (as) a boon from the spirit of the sacred place, *K'rt*, that ... I may arrive (home) more quickly and may see (my) brother in good (health) with joy". Here the word *k'rt* appears to be a name, either of the *βγn-* "sacred place"[10] (presumably the Shatial site) or of its "spirit". (See Plate 216). *Pl. 216*

The Sogdian inscriptions contain a number of Western Iranian names, both Parthian and Middle Persian, including such well-known names as Sāsān (*s's''n*, 53-4), Pāpak (*p'p'kk*, 17-18 = Nr. 112b), Shāpūr (*š'p'wr*, 20-2; cf. Parthian *šhypwhry*, 39-105 = Nr. 20, and Bactrian *šaboro*, 54-31 = Nr. 115), Kartīr (*krt'yr*, 39-32 = Nr. 23; cf. Sanskrit *kirdira*, 30-2 = Nr. 93, etc.), and the specifically Parthian form Narisaf (*nrsβ*, 36-38 = Nr. 126; 36-85). Ethnic terms occurring as personal names include *xwn* "Hun" (passim), *'yntwk'* "Indian"[11] (31-97 = Nr. 69; variants *'yntwk*, Khanbari, and *'yntwk'k*, 33-12), and *kwš''n* "Kushān" (17-18 = Nr. 112b; 31-40; the apparent derivatives *kwš'nk'n*, Thor North, and *kwš'nk'nk*(?), 34-86 = Nr. 99c, are possibly used as

6 At the end of this inscription HUMBACH reads *B*[*RY*], but the supposed *B* does not belong to this inscription.

7 See the discussion by HUMBACH, 1980: 202–203.

8 Uncertain; could also be read *kwδ*.

9 Or *xrβntn*.

10 On the range of meaning of *βγn-* (Manichean "temple", Christian "altar") see SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1985: 61–62.

11 Recognized by V.A. LIVŠIC *apud* HUMBACH, 1980: 226.

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tribal or family names). HUMBACH's reading *twrm'n* in 50-3 (= Nr. 7) and his comparison of this name with that of the Hephthalite Toramāṇa are quite uncertain.[12]

The occurrence of names such as those just mentioned provides only the most general of chronological hints, pointing towards the Sasanian period. Since none of the Iranian inscriptions is dated, the chief hope of defining their date with rather greater precision would seem to lie in palaeographic analysis. As HUMBACH has rightly observed,[13] the style of writing – at least of the clearest and most carefully written inscriptions – is very close to that of the Sogdian "Ancient Letters", for which W.B. HENNING's date of ca. 312 A.D. has been confirmed by the most recent study.[14] Some inscriptions display a more cursive or irregular style, which may indicate that they are not the work of professional scribes, not necessarily that they are later in date. Palaeographically, there is nothing to suggest that any of the inscriptions are as late as the documents from Mt. Mug (early eighth century), the next major group of Sogdian manuscripts after the "Ancient Letters". On this basis, the inscriptions seem most likely to belong to the fourth to sixth centuries A.D., or to some part of that period, although it must be emphasized that this is only a preliminary and tentative conclusion.

Despite the formulaic nature of the inscriptions, they are not without linguistic interest. The texts contain a number of previously unknown Sogdian words, of which *'pzymyδ* "day before yesterday"(?) (cf. *'zyy myδ* "yesterday" in the "Ancient Letters")[15] and *pt'yst* "begged" (past stem of Buddhist Sogdian *pt'yδ* "to beg") have already been cited. New items of vocabulary occurring as personal names or name-elements include *myδn* "dwelling" (in *prnmyδn*, 31-46 and 31-51, cf. Avestan *maēθana-* etc.),[16] *sp'δxrš* "army-leader" (31-59 and 34-87, ultimately a

12 HUMBACH, 1980: 205.

13 *Ibid.*: 201.

14 HENNING, 1948; GRENET and SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1987.

15 See HENNING, 1948: 606 n. 4.

16 Cf. the Sogdian place-name **prnmyδn* (in Arabic script *frmytn*), indirectly attested in the Mug document A5, line 13, in the phrase *prnmyδncy 'ynch* "woman from (the village) Farn-mēthan" (BOGOLJUBOV and SMIRNOVA, 1963: 107).

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calque on Greek *stratēgos* like Khotanese *hīnāysa-*),[17] and *δx* "man, male" (cf. Khotanese *daha-*, Wakhi *δay*), which is found as a name in itself (34-108 = Nr. 49c; 39-96; 39-99; also *δx'*, 29-2 = Nr. 41) and in the compound *δxz'tk* (34-90 = Nr. 92b; 36-81; Oshibat). A particularly interesting form is *xsrδ* "power, rule" from Old Iranian *xšaθra-*, which displays an unusual phonetic development of **xš* to *xs*,[18] and which occurs in a large number of derivatives: *xsrδ'k* (5-29 = Nr. 78b; 36-75) and *xsrδ'kk* (31-88 = Nr. 71c; 31-89), *xsrδmyw*(?) (34-62), *''wxsrδ* (47-9 = Nr. 38b), *wnwnxsrδ* (50-8 = Nr. 4b), *y'nxsrδ* (53-28), and •*mwxsrδ* (Thor North).

Probably the main importance of the material lies in the large number of personal names which it attests. For the first time it provides a corpus of Sogdian names large enough to be regarded as a typical cross-section – at least, of names used by males of a particular social group. The "heroic" style is one of the favourite types of name. Here belong names such as *δx* (see above) and its synonym *mrty* "man" (36-96 = Nr. 109a; 36-97 = Nr. 109b; 48-2; 50-27 = Nr. 10; Oshibat)[19], as well as compound names using elements such as *'sp* "horse", *myw* "tiger", *rzm* "line of battle", *sp'δ* "army", *wnwn* "victorious", and *xns* "strong", e.g. *st'sp* (34-85 = Nr. 99b), *'rwmyw* (53-17), *prnmyw* (31-51), *rzmwnwn* (50-17 = Nr. 123), *'sp''δprn* (40-16), *'nγtsp''δ* (34-74 = Nr. 52b), *rywxns* (for references see below, fn. 22). Theophoric names are even more common, the most frequently named divinities being Nanē and Wakhush(u) "the Oxus". HUMBACH has given a list of names consisting of a divine name plus *βntk* "slave",[20] to which one can now add *'βy'mnβntk* (31-63 = Nr. 65c; 50-7; 50-27 = Nr. 10; miswritten *'βy'mββntk*, 36-91; cf. also *'βy'mnyw*(?), 36-92, and *'βy'mnyw'k*, 53-29),[21] *rywβntk* "slave of Rich One" (36-

17 Cf. BURROW, 1934: 514 and H.W. BAILEY *apud* THOMAS, 1936: 790–791.

18 As in *'xs'yn'k* "greenish, bluish", cf. WEBER, 1970: 154.

19 For a different view on the signification of the name *mrty* see HUMBACH, 1981: 90.

20 HUMBACH, 1980: 203–204.

21 The same shadowy divinity is later attested by the Manichean personal name *by'mnwrz*, on which see SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1985: 164.

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100; cf. *rywδβ''r*, 31-60, 36-101 = Nr. 85, 39-99, and *βγrywβntk*, 30-6 = Nr. 60, 34-96 = Nr. 113, 47-13 = Nr. 36b),[22] and *tyδrβntk* "slave of Tishtriya" (39-96).[23] Ahura Mazdā is referred to in *'xwrmztδ't* (26-1; a possible variant *'xwrmzt't*(?) in 36-93, where the letters *'xwr-* have been added subsequently in smaller writing) and *mzt'kk* (36-45 = Nr. 44; cf. Bactrian *mazdo*, 34-120), while *δyw* (generally "demon") retains its older sense "god" in *δywn'm* (Thor North) as in some other Sogdian personal names.[24] The total absence of the god Mithra from the onomastics is noteworthy, and could be taken to lend some support to the theory that he was commonly referred to in Sogdiana merely as Baga "the god",[25] cf. the names *βγ''βy'rt* (31-99 = Nr. 77a; 114-2), *βγ'βy'rt* (5-31; 31-98 = Nr. 76), *βγβntky* (Thor North = Nr. 137),[26] and *βγyδβ''r* (31-53(?); 39-80 = Nr. 17k).

22 One need not assume that *ryw* "rich" in personal names (for which cf. also *rywxns*, 53-26; *rywprn ZK* (?) *rywxns BRY*, 34-40 (?) and 40-19 = Nr. 34a) always refers to a divinity, but these examples seem unambiguous. HUMBACH, 1980: 203, followed more tentatively by ZIMMER, 1984: 198, identifies the "rich god" as the Moon, but there are other possibilities to be considered, including, most obviously, Mithra: cf. Avestan *miθrō raēuuå* corresponding to Vedic *mitrásya revátaḥ* (see SCHLERATH, 1968: 162a), Middle Persian *Rēw-mihrān* as a family-name (NYBERG, 1974: 169b, citing also Greek *Rheomithrēs*).

23 It is possible to understand *tyδr-* as a pseudo-historical spelling for *tyš-* (cf. WEBER, 1972: 199–200) from *tištriya-*, probably based on the genuinely historical spelling *myδr-* beside *myš-* < *miθra-*.

24 Cf. HENNING, 1965: 253–254, and YOSHIDA, 1984: 149.

25 This theory, propounded long ago by J. MARKWART (MARQUART, 1896: 63–65) but still controversial, cannot be discussed here. The most important literature on this subject is cited in SIMS-WILLIAMS, 1988. (Cf. also fn. 22 above).

26 In HUMBACH's edition (1980: 224), the captions to the photographs of Nr. 137 and Nr. 135 have been accidentally exchanged.

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MA YONG

THE CHINESE INSCRIPTION OF THE "DA WEI" ENVOY OF THE "SACRED ROCK OF HUNZA"

The northern districts of Pakistan lie south of the Pamirs, bounded by the south-western region of Xinjiang Province in China. The Indus and Gilgit Rivers meet near the boundary zone of the Karakorum mountains and the Himalayas. Here the snow peaks tower high into the sky and the sparkling glaciers dazzle the eyes. Deep canyons provide the only passageways for people to get to and fro. Due to rushing currents and precipitous cliffs, indigenous bridges (maybe corresponding to the so-called "Suspended Crossings" in Chinese traditions) were in common use in the upper reaches of the Indus.

During the period between the Han and Tang dynasties, however, when the trade along the "Silk Road" prospered, the area was the hub of an important net of routes from China to Western and Southern Asia through which envoys, merchants, monks and the like passed back and forth in an endless stream, leaving there many relics and inscriptions. After the middle period of the Tang dynasty (from the 8th to 9th century) however, the route declined in importance. Since then, the area was effectively cut off from the outside world for over a thousand years. As a result, its historical remains were largely unknown until recently. This isolated area did not become easily accessible to the outside world until the seventies of the present century, when an 800 kilometre road, the Karakorum Highway, was completed by Pakistan in cooperation with China. This highway starts from Tashkurgan in Xinjiang, crosses over the Khunjerab pass at an elevation of more than 4.600 metres and extends down south along the Hunza, the Gilgit and the Indus rivers until it reaches

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Islamabad. The highway approximately follows the famous "Ji-bin" route (罽 賓 道) of the ancient Silk Road.

Many inscriptions carved on rocks by the early travellers, together with rock-carvings of different periods, became apparent along the highway during its construction. Since 1979 the Pak-German Study Group for Anthropological Research in the Northern Areas, jointly organized by Prof. Ahmad Hasan DANI of Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, and Prof. Dr. Karl JETTMAR of Heidelberg University, has made on-the-spot investigations of these petroglyphs along the highway. They investigated and collated a vast quantity of materials and relics which are of great value for studying the history not only of northern Pakistan, but also of Central Asia as a whole and especially the interrelations between China and Central, Western and Southern Asia in ancient times. The languages used in these inscriptions are of various kinds, among which Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī and Sogdian are used most frequently. Of particular interest for our present purposes are the inscriptions written in Chinese and Tibetan.

In order to promote the study of these invaluable archaeological remains by scholars of various countries, a major colloquium was held in Gilgit in September 1983: The International Conference on Karakorum Culture, chaired by Prof. DANI. During the meeting all the participants (among whom the author was fortunate to be included) made an investigative tour along the Karakorum Highway, starting from Islamabad and reaching the Sino-Pakistan boundary. In view of his nationality, the author paid special attention to Chinese inscriptions. The main results of this study are reported briefly in this paper with special reference to the most important inscription which was carved by the envoy of the dynasty called "Da Wei" (大 魏) or "Great Wei".

At present, 1985, no less than seven Chinese inscriptions have been found along the Karakorum Highway, four of which I could see myself.

One of these petroglyphs occurs on the southern bank of the Indus, near Shatial village, where the Indus coming from the east turns south. Since ancient times there has been an important ferry-crossing nearby; now a relatively long suspension bridge of iron cables crosses the river. On the southern bank rocks and boulders are spread out over a restricted area on which there have

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been carved many inscriptions. This is likely to be an obvious place where travellers of ancient times would have taken a rest. The relevant inscription is carved on a solitary rock here. Unfortunately, it was not decipherable under prevalent conditions, but the characters are certainly Chinese.* On the rocks nearby there are hundreds of Sogdian inscriptions, among which the names of travellers are to be seen who went to China (DANI 1983a: 26–28). Thus it can be inferred that this was a necessary staging post on the ancient "Ji-bin" route (罽賓道).
Another Chinese inscription is nearby at Chilas, 60 km to the east of Shatial. Chilas forms somewhat of a natural basin across which the Indus flows. The place is relatively densely populated. There are many inscriptions on both banks, especially on the southern side of the river. The body of inscriptions at the eastern 'gate' of Chilas basin is conventionally numbered "Chilas I" by archaeologists. The Karakorum Highway passes through this gate: on its northern side stands a rock precipice. The Chinese inscription lies on a highstanding outcrop of rock on the southern side of the Highway (DANI 1983: 52, photo No. 39, p. 59). There seem to be five characters written vertically in two columns on the rock. Two words out of these five are too indistinct to be decipherable: in the right column one reads "Zhang □ ru" (張 □ 如); in the left, "Gao □" (高 □). These must simply be the names of two travellers. The characters were written squarely, and the calligraphic style belongs between the so-called "kai-shu" (楷 書) and "li-shu" (隸 書) forms. According to these stylistic grounds, the time when the inscriptions were carved cannot be later than the Tang dynasty (618–906 A.D.).
The third Chinese inscription is at Thalpan, situated on the northern bank of the Indus in the Chilas basin. The inscriptions here are located immediately opposite those on the southern bank of the Indus. Among the inscriptions classified as "Thalpan IV" there are two Chinese characters which are placed beside engraved stūpas (DANI 1983: 235). Once more, a personal name is recognized.+

* In the meantime readings by Prof. Dr. H. FRANKE and Prof. Dr. D. SECKEL are available based on photographs made at different times of the day. One more Chinese inscription was found nearby. (editor's remark)

\+ In the meantime a further Chinese inscription was discovered by Prof.

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Pl. 217 The fourth Chinese inscription, which is situated north of the other three, is the most important one to be discussed in this paper. It is near the Hunza River, not far from the Chinese border.

The Hunza River emerges from glaciers at the Sino-Pakistan border, flows southward, and, at Haldeikish, it turns again to the west passing the central area of what was formerly called Hunza State. Until recently, this state was ruled by a dynasty who had held the title "Tham" or "Mir" for many centuries. The palace is at Baltit, the ancient capital of the region. Opposite the village of Altit, the left bank of the river is dominated by a rocky ridge. Its name is Haldeikish, explained as place of the male ibexes. Apparently hunting rituals were once performed here. And so it was called "The Sacred Rock of Hunza" by Prof. DANI. There are about 120 detailed inscriptions, most of them covering the period from the first century B.C. to the 7th century A.D. Many Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kushan period are to be found together with Brāhmī inscriptions of the Gupta period, and also one in Sogdian. Many hitherto unknown historical details of the local dynasties have come to light through these inscriptions (DANI 1983: 84—85; 1985). The Chinese inscription is carved on a rock, several metres high, facing the Karakorum Highway at a near distance, where a small road branches of (DANI 1985: 48—49 Rock Nr. 2). The inscription near its basins seems to have been carved with a sharp metal instrument because the scoring is deep and narrow. It forms one vertical column consisting of twelve characters, most of which are sufficiently distinct to be rendered as follows.

JETTMAR below Thalpan village. Mr. KAUPER found the carving of a Chinese pagoda together with a not completely understandable Chinese inscription at the mouth of the Thak River (JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985: Pl. 20; JETTMAR 1985). (Editor's remark)

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Inscription at
Hunza-Haldeikish.
Copy prepared by the
late Prof. Ma Yong

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Text:

大 魏 使 谷 巍 龍 今 向 迷 密

[dà] [wèi] [shǐ] [gǔ] [wēi] [lóng] [jīn] [xiàng] [mí] [mì]

Great Wei envoy Gu Wei-long now towards Mi-mi

使 去

[shǐ] [qù]

dispatch to

Among the characters, " 谷 " is flatter than the others. The rock surface above it is damaged, so it may be " 容 ". Here it is still read as " 谷 " for there is no reliable evidence for " 容 ". The character " 今 " in the inscription can only be distinguished as " 亼 " owing to damage. But there is no other word that is suitable in this context except " 今 ". The lower part of the character " 密 " is indistinct, but the upper part is quite clear. Because "Mi-mi" is a place name which is mentioned in Chinese traditions, it can be ascertained as " 密 ". The character " 去 " is not clear in the picture, but I have personally examined it, tracing the outline by hand. It is " 去 " without question. The other characters are quite distinct and need no further explanation.

Thus the meaning of the inscription is quite clear.

Translation:

Gu Wei-long, envoy of Great Wei, (is) now dispatched to Mi-mi

Clearly it is not a formal inscription, but rather carved casually by the envoy when he passed by the Sacred Rock of Hunza. However, there is neither a date nor other information in the inscription; unfortunately we cannot find any records about Envoy Gu Wei-long in extant sources.

Although the calligraphy of the characters is broadly of the "kai-shu" (楷 書) style, there also seem to be some traces of the "li-shu" (隸 書) calligraphic tradition. The style is simple and unsophisticated, and the structure of the characters is unaffected and straightforward.

To the right of the character " 龍 今 " there is a horizontal line of Brāhmī, the left end of which overlaps the Chinese inscription. Obviously, the date of the Brāhmī inscription must be later than that of the Chinese. According to Prof. DANI's research, this

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Brāhmī inscription belongs to the Gupta period, i.e. between the later years of the fourth century A.D. and the middle of the sixth (DANI 1983). One may therefore assume that the date of the Chinese inscription can not be later than the middle of the sixth century.

There were two dynasties which might be called "Great Wei" in Chinese history before such a date. The first is the Cao's Wei Dynasty (曹 魏; A.D. 220–265), during the period of the Three States. The second is the North Wei Dynasty (386–556 A.D.). Both dynasties dispatched envoys to countries in the "Western Regions", and all of these envoys might have taken the route which passed along the Hunza River.[1] It is difficult to ascertain whether the inscription belongs to the Cao's or the North Wei from the penmanship alone, because the "kai-shu" calligraphy together with the minor style of "li-shu" occurred in both of the Wei dynasties referred to here. However, we may find a solution to this problem of dating in the place name "Mi-mi".

The name "Mi-mi", which is the transliteration of a country in the Western Regions, never appeared in any Chinese sources before the period of the North Wei. Wei shu, ch. 4B, Shizu ji (魏 書 . 世 祖 紀) records that in the first month of the initial year of Zheng-ping (正 平; 451 A.D.), "The states of Fergana, Ji-bin and Mi-mi sent envoys to the court to present tributes respectively". Bei Shi, ch. 97, Xiyu Zhuan (北 史 . 西 域 傳) records: "The state of Mi-mi: The seat of the

1 In San Guo Zhi.Wei Shu.Wen Di Ji (三 國 志 . 魏 書 . 文 帝 紀) there is an imperial edict in the third year of Huang Chu (黄 初; 222 A.D.). It reads: "Now (the envoys from) the countries of the Western Regions all gather at Sai (塞; frontier fortress) and ask to become appendages to Wei. His Majesty sends envoys (to these countries) to placate them". This proves that the Wei Dynasty of Cao's royal family had already dispatched envoys to the countries in the Western Regions. In Ming Di Ji (明 帝 紀) of the same book we are told that on the date of Gui-Mao (癸 卯) of December in the third year of Tai-he (太 和; 229 A.D.), the King of Great Yue-zhi, Bo-diao, sent envoy(s) to present tribute and His Majesty conferred upon the King a title of "King of Great Yue-zhi Intimate with Wei". Bo-diao was a transliteration of the Kushan Emperor Vasudeva. Since Cao Wei conferred upon him a title, it would be likely to send one or more envoys to the Kushan court. It is probable that such an envoy would have passed along the Hunza River.

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King's government is at the town of Mi-mi which is to the west of Zhe-zhi-ba (者至拔) and is distant by 12.100 *li* from Dai (代). In the initial year of Zheng-ping, the state dispatched its envoy to present a black dromedary [to the North Wei]. To the east of the state there is a mountain called Yu-xi-man (郁悉滿) which produces gold, jade and is rich in iron ore." The description of Mi-mi in Wei Shu, ch. 102, Xiyu Zhuan (魏書. 西域傳) is transcribed from the above record of Bei Shi[2], thus the contents of the two are almost identical: but with the exception that the sentence "... is distant by 12.100 *li* from Dai" in the later is taken as "... is distant by 12.600 *li* from Dai" in the former. I hold that "12.600 *li*" of Wei Shu is correct here, and that the "12.100 *li*" of Bei Shi are to be probably taken as a copyist's error. "6" and "1" are written in Chinese as "六" and "一", so it is not impossible for one to take "六" for "一" if the former was damaged or indistinct. This problem will be discussed in detail below.

The name "Mi-mi" only occurs in annals from the time of the North Wei Dynasty. Although the state still kept a close relation with China after that time, the transliteration of its name was changed to "Mi" (米), as is seen in Sui Shu, ch. 83, Xiyu Zhuan (隋書. 西域傳). In Bei Shi, Xiyu Zhuan, both the states of "Mi-mi" and "Mi" were recorded. The former was probably transcribed from the original of Wei Shu, the latter deriving from Sui Shu. Li Yan-shou (李延壽), the author of Bei Shi, knew little about the geography of the Western Regions. So he would have no idea that the two names probably referred to the same place, and so might take them down respectively from separate sources, thus mistaking a single state as two district regions. The name of the state is transliterated as "Mi-

2 Bei Shi (北史) written by Li Yan-sho (李延壽) was transferred from Wei Shu (魏書), Bei Qi Shu (北齊書), Zhou Shu (周書) and Shui Shu (隋書). But "Xi Yu Zhuan" (西域傳) of Wei Shu was lost later. So some people extracted descriptions relative to the Northern Wei period to complete Wei Shu, Xiyu Zhuan. When we quote materials from the work, we must first depend on Bei Shi and then the proofread Wei Shu: because there is a discrepancy between a few sentences and words of the two works, which one can make use of in reconstructing earlier editions.

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mo-he" (弭 秣 賀), together with a note that "it is also called the state of Mi by the Tang people" in Xuan Zhuang's (玄 奘) Da Tang Xiyu Ji (大唐西域記). In Jiu Tang Shu, ch. 196, Xirong Zhuan (舊唐書. 西戎傳), there is no special item for "the state of Mi", but it does occur under the headline of "the state of Kang" (康). Xin Tang Shu, ch. 221B, Xiyu Zhuan (新唐書. 西域傳) reads, "Mi is also called Mi-mo (彌末) or Mi-mo-he." It seems, therefore, that the transliteration of the state's name as "Mi-mi" had been forgotten by the time of the Sui Dynasty onwards.

So I conclude that the name "Mi-mi" was only used during the North Wei Dynasty, and it is most likely that the "Da Wei" (the Great Wei) in the inscription near the Hunza River referred to the North Wei.

From the extant sources we know that the envoy from the state of Mi-mi came to China only once during the North Wei Dynasty, in the initial year of Zheng-ping. Therefore, it should be before, or not long after, this year that the Envoy of the North Wei, Gu Wei-long, went to Mi-mi. There are two possibilities here. Firstly, the Wei Dynasty may have sent Gu Wei-long initially to Mi-mi, and in return, Mi-mi dispatched envoy(s) following Gu to Wei and presented a dromedary. Such things were common in ancient times. If so, the dispatch of Gu Wei-long to Mi-mi should be dated at least one or two years earlier than the inaugural year of Zheng-ping, because it would take a year or so to travel there and back. We know that Mi-mi's envoy arrived at Dai in the first month of the initial year of Zheng-ping (451 A.D.), thus Gu Wei-long's mission to Mi-mi should not be dated later than the tenth year of Tai-ping-zhen-jun (太平真君; 449 A.D.). In Wei shu, ch.4B Shi-zu ji, we see that in the third month of the fifth year of Tai-ping-zhen-jun (444 A.D.) "(Wei Dynasty) dispatched envoys to the Western Regions four times." There is no record about sending envoys to the Western Regions in the sources during the period from the third month of the fifth year to the tenth year of Tai-ping-zhen-jun. So it is very probable that Gu Wei-long belonged to those envoys dispatched in 444 A.D. Six years, from the fifth year of Tai-ping-zhen-jun to the initial year of Zhengping, is not so long for envoys to go to and fro between Dai and Mi-mi: especially if we think of the long distance they

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would travel, the hardships of such communications at that time, and the periods needed for rest and reorganization on their way.

The second possibility is that Mi-mi's envoy came to China first, and then the North Wei Dynasty dispatched Gu Wei-long to send the envoy back home, an arrangement which also occurs often in the annals of this period. According to China's regulation in ancient times, no foreign envoys were allowed to stay in the capital for lengthy periods under ordinary circumstances. If Gu Wei-long had been dispatched to send Mi-mi's envoy back home, they should have started within one or two years after the inaugural year of Zheng-ping, i.e. the time when they started out should not have been later than the second year of Emperor Wen Cheng's (文成帝) Xing-an (興安; 453 A.D.).

In the light of the above discussion it seems a reasonable conclusion that Gu Wei-long went to Mi-mi within the period 444–453, whichever first or second possibility actually occurred. This is the later period of the reign of the Wei Emperor Tai Wu (太武帝, i.e. Shizu, 世祖), under whom the North Wei Dynasty destroyed the state of North Liang (北涼), defeated the Tu-yu-hun (吐谷渾) and conquered Shan-shan, Karashahr and Kucha, thus gaining great fame and prestige. The "Silk Road" was thereby unblocked. As a result, the North Wei Dynasty had frequent contact with the countries of Central and Southern Asia, among which Mi-mi was one. The inscription of Gu Wei-long near the Hunza River is therefore an important record of Sino-foreign relations at that time.

From this period onwards, the North Wei kept close economic and cultural relations with the Western Regions and these relations further increased after Emperor Xiao Wen (孝文帝) moved the seat of the government to Luo-yang. As Luo Yang Jia Lan Ji (洛陽伽藍記) records, "Thousands of towns and hundreds of countries from West of Cong-ling (葱嶺) to Da-qin (大秦) sincerely acknowledge their allegiance (to the Wei Dynasty). Foreign merchants flow to the frontier". Song Yun (宋雲), the well-known account of Hui Sheng's (惠生) travel in the Western Regions, begins in the initial year of Shen-Gui (神龜; 518 A.D.) i.e. more than 70 years later than Gu Wei-long's dispatch to Mi-mi.

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The question of Gu Wei-long's travel route merits further study. Before resolving this question, I shall give a brief description of Mi-mi's geography.

Mi-mi was almost certainly the Mi Country (米國) of the later Sui and Tang periods, as has been discussed above. Mi Country was one of the Nine Zhao-wu Countries (昭武九姓國) and had frequent contacts with China. The people from this country living in China all had the surname of Mi (米). There are many famous people who have such a surname in Chinese tradition.

Scholars who specialize in the early history of Sino-foreign relations have a relatively clear conception of the place where this country should lie: it was not far to the south-east of Kand Country (康國, today's Samarkand). Mi-mi was called "Mâymurgh" in classical Arabic tradition. Xuan Zhuang's (玄奘) transliteration of it as Mi-mo-he (弭末賀) seems to be slightly more precise. The alternative transliteration of "Mi-mi" (迷密) or "Mi-mo" (彌末) occurs because of the conventional omission of suffix consonants and it is not incorrect. As for "Mi" (米), it is only the transliteration of its first syllable, convenient in being a common Chinese surname. According to the Arabic geographers of ancient times, Mâymurgh was the name of a region south-east of Samarkand: where the soil was fertile, the forests were dense, and where villages and towns were scattered here and there (LE STRANGE 1966: 465; MA Xiao-he, forthcoming). Sui Shu, Xiyu Zhuan (隋書. 西域傳): "Mi Country is where the ancient Kang-ju (康居) Country was situated and its capital is by the western bank of the Na-mi River (那密河). There is no king in the country. The head of the city is a branch of the king of Kang Country and his surname is Zhao-wu (昭武), his personal name Bi-zhuo (閉拙). The area of its capital is two square *li*. There are several hundreds of persons able to bear arms. To the north-west, it is a distance of 100 *li* to Kang Country, 500 *li* to Su-dui-sha-na (蘇對沙那, i.e. Sutrishna) Country in the east, 200 *li* to Shi (史 i.e. Kesh) Country in the south-west, and 6.400 *li* to Gua (瓜) State in the east." Under the heading of "Mi Country" in Xin Tang Shu, Xiyu Zhuan (新唐書. 西域傳), one reads: "(The country) is distant by 100 *li* to Kang Country in the north. The seat of its government is at Bo-xi-de (鉢息德) city."

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Thus we can see that Mi Country is distant by 100 *li* to Kang Country according to the above two works. But in Bei Shi, Xiyu Zhuan (北史. 西域傳) one reads, "Xi-wan-jin (悉萬斤) Country, the seat of its king's government is at Xi-wan-jin city which is to the west of Mi-mi and distant by 12.720 *li* to Dai". The so-called Xi-wan-jin (pronounced as Si-man-kin in Middle Chinese) is Samarkand. We have seen in the same chapter that Mi-mi is distant by 12.100 *li* to Dai. Thus there would be a distance of 620 *li* from Mi-mi to Kang Country. This cannot be reconciled with what Sui Shu and Xin Tang Shu record. In the extant Wei Shu, Xiyu Zhuan (魏書. 西域傳), which was transcribed from Bei Shi, however, the distance between Mi-mi and Xi-wan-jin is just identical with that recorded in Bei Shi, but that from Mi-mi to Dai is noted as "12.600 *li*". According to this, the distance between Mi-mi and Xi-wan-jin is only 120 *li* which is almost identical with what was taken down in Sui Shu and Xin Tang Shu. This indicates that the character "一" (one) of "Yi-bai" (一百, one hundred) *li* in Bei Shi is a misreading of the character "六" (six). The Na-mi River is today's Zarafshan River. The capital of Mi-mi Country, Mi-mi city, in the Wei Dynasty should be on the southern side of Zarafshan River and must be the so-called "Bo-xi-de city" in the Tang period. There are two theories about the location of "Bo-xi-de city". One is that Bo-xi-de is at today's Ǧumâ-a-Bazar; the other takes it as today's Maghin (or Moughian). According to the latest research of Mr. MA Xiao-he (馬小鶴), Bo-xi-de city must be the famous Panjikent. His argument is strong and convincing, and I wholly agree with him (MA Xiao-he, forthcoming).

Gu Wei-long left Dai (today's Da-tong), capital of North Wei, for Panjikent or Mi-mi and passed along the Hunza River, where the inscription was carved. His travel route clearly did not pass Yarkand and Tashkurgan of Xinjiang. If he had followed the usual south route of the "Silk Road" which led westward to Yarkand and then turned south-west to Tashkurgan, he would have gone immediately to the west and entered the Wakhan Corridor, and then travelled along the Amu-Darya to Mi-mi. In other words, he would not have turned south at Tashkurgan and taken a roundabout way via the Hunza Valley. In the light of Gu Wei-long's inscription we may suppose that it was likely

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for Gu Wei-long to have turned to the south-west at Pi-shan (皮 山) in Xinjiang, and then to have travelled upstream along the Tasihong River. After passing Tuzlak Daban, he would have turned westward to Aghzi Daban, where he took the line of today's highway. Thence he would follow the Harastan River upstream to Mazar, going north-west again at Arasal and crossing today's Sino-Pakistan border to Shimshal. There he travelled westwards along the Shimshal River until reaching the "Sacred Rock of Hunza". The course he took is indeed the old route from China to Ji-bin (罽 賓) and Wu-i-shan-li (烏 弋 山 離) in the Han period.

The so-called "Ji-bin route" (罽 賓 道) in the Han period is a branch of the southern route of the "Silk Road". The branch did not pass through Yarkand but went alternatively from Pi-shan. Under the heading of "Pi-shan Country" in Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, it reads, "To the south-west it (Pishan Country) is a distance of 1340 *li* to the state of Wu-cha (烏 秅). To the south it adjoins Tian-du (天 篤, i.e. Hindu). To the north it is a distance of 1450 *li* to Gu-mo (姑 墨). To the south-west it is situated on the Ji-bin and Wu-i-shan-li route. To the north-west there is communication with Suo-ju (莎 車, i.e. Yarkand) at a distance of 380 *li*". In the description of Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, there is a strict distinction between places "situated on the route" and those "not situated on the route". In the above description Pi-shan "is situated on the Ji-bin and Wu-i-shan-li route to the south-west", which refers to the route from Pi-shan to Ji-bin and Wu-i-shan-li, while "to the north-west there is communication with Suo-ju". Thus it can be seen that the two routes to Ji-bin and to Suo-ju led in different directions and Pi-shan was the point where they branched off. A clearer picture may be had from Du Qin's (杜 欽) description cited under the heading of "Ji-bin Country". This occurs in the same chapter as the account of the routes the Han envoys took when escorting tribute carriers from Ji-bin back home.

It reads:

> "Starting in the area south of Pi-shan, one passes through some four or five states which are not subject to Han . . . In addition, they pass over the ranges [known as the hills of the] Greater and the Lesser Headache, and the slopes of the Red Earth and

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the Fever of the Body. These cause a man to suffer fever; he has no colour, his head aches and he vomits; asses and stock animals all suffer in this way. Furthermore there are the Three Pools and the Great Rock Slopes, with a path that is a foot and six or seven inches wide, but leads forward for a length of thirty *li*, overlooking a precipice whose depth is unfathomed. Travellers passing on horse or foot hold on to one another and pull each other along with ropes; and only after a journey of more than two thousand *li* do they reach the Suspended Crossing."

Du Qin also suggested:

"Those of our envoys who have already received their emblems of authority should be permitted to proceed as far as Pi-shan and then to return." (Cf. HULSEWÉ 1979: 110–11).

Hou Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, also records:

"One starts in the south-west of Pi-shan, passes through Wu-cha, crosses the Suspended Crossing, passes through Ji-bin and then arrives in Wu-i-shan-li Country after travelling for over 60 days."

The route it describes is just the same as that described in Han Shu.

Thus it proves that the branch of the southern route to Ji-bin started from Pi-shan and never passed Suo-ju, both in the Former and Later Han Dynasties. According to Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, in the west of Pi-shan there was "Xi-ye (西夜) Country" which was situated in valleys in the south-west of today's Ye-cheng (葉城) Country of Xinjiang. West of Xi-ye there was "Pu-li (蒲犁) Country" situated near today's Tashkurgan in Xinjiang. Both Xi-ye and Pu-li were then subject to the Han Protector General of the Western Regions. However, Du Qin reported that starting from Pi-shan south-westward to Ji-bin, one should pass through four or five mountain countries which were not subject to Han Dynasty.

Thus it can be seen that this route did not pass through Xi-ye and Pu-li, but turned immediately to the south-west from Pi-shan and extended over today's Sino-Pakistan boundary just as described above. This route would certainly pass through the Hunza Valley, being that taken by Envoy Gu Wei-long of the North Wei Dynasty. But from the Hunza Valley the "Ji-bin" route of the Han Dynas-

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ty must have extended southwards along the Gilgit River and then the upper Indus River, i.e., taking generally the same line as today's Karakorum Highway. It seems, however, that Gu Wei-long turned to the north-west from the Hunza Valley and took another route to Chitral. He surmounted the Hindukush, crossed the Amu-Darya and advanced in the direction of Samarkand to Mi-mi. The line he took is therefore a quite different direction from the Ji-bin route of the Han Dynasty.

From the Hunza Valley southwards there occur many inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway, among which there are a large number carved by distant travellers. This provides a strong proof that the way is none other than the so-called "Ji-bin" route used since the Han Dynasty.[3] The inscriptions in the Hunza Valley are those situated northernmost in the Northern Region of Pakistan. Here, the frequency of the inscriptions, the rich details of many of their contents, and the long period of time they cover, are sufficient indicators that the area was a most important post on the ancient communication line with China. My personal hypothesis is that this post must be the "Wu-cha Country" mentioned during the Han period.

From Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan and Hou Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, we know that there was an important post – Wu-cha Country – on the way from Pi-shan south-westward to Ji-bin. Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, records: it is a distance of 1.340 *li* from Pi-shan to Wu-cha and of 1.450 *li* from Pi-shan to Gu-mo (姑墨, near today's Aksu of Xinjiang). The distances from Pi-shan to Wu-cha and Gu-mo are relatively close. According to our estimation in the light of such proportional distances, the seat of Wu-cha Country should properly lie in the Hunza Valley.

3 Opinions on the seat of Ji-bin Country during the Han period vary considerably among academic circles. But it is unnecessary to go into the details of these opinions because Prof. QIN Zong-mian (岑仲勉) 1981: 150–64 has enumerated many of them. For these QIN has not enumerated or described in detail, see TARN 1951: 469–473; PETECH 1950: 63–80; HULSEWÉ 1979: 104, note 203. I myself am convinced that Ji-bin in the Han period referred to the area south of the Hindukush and west of the Indus River with the valleys of the lower reaches of the Kabul river and its branches being its central region. The area would include Kāpiśa, Gandhāra, Taxila and Uḍḍiyāṇa (Swat).

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Opinions on the location of Wu-cha Country have always varied among scholars. In all, there are some seven divergent theories on Wu-cha's seat: Sarikol (Tashkurgan), Uḍḍiyāṇa, Aktash, Ladakh, Kafiristan, Badakhshan, and elsewhere in the Hindukush. But I feel all the above theories (cf. K. SHIRATORI[4]) can hardly be reconciled with what is recorded in Han Shu.

Such theories vary so much because of textual interpretation depending on pronunciation, but often disregarding geographical facts, as well as a tendency to focus on the later traditions which are not in accordance with the Han Shu itself. So they are scarcely authoritative. Prof. QIN Zhong-mian (岑仲勉) has argued against other interpretations that Wu-cha Country must certainly be Uḍḍiyāṇa, i.e., the Swat Region. His criticism of earlier theories is certainly sound. However, I find it not at all convincing that the seat of Wu-cha was really at Uḍḍiyāṇa.

QIN suggested that the centre of Wu-cha during the East Jin (東晉) Dynasty was at Gilgit, not in the Swat Valley; i.e. he thought Wu-cha during the Han Dynasty was also at Gilgit (QIN Zhong-mian 1981: 98). Under the heading of "Wu-cha Country" in Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, however, it reads:

> "It (Wu-cha) adjoins Zi-he (子合) and Pu-li (蒲犁) in the north and Nan-dou (難兜) in the west. They (the inhabitants) live in the mountains and cultivate the land that lies among the rocks. There is white grass, and they build dwellings by piling up stones on one another. The inhabitants drink by joining their hands together. Here is produced the short-pacing horse. To the west there is the Suspended Crossing ... that which is termed the Suspended Crossing is a rocky mountain; the valley is impenetrable, so people had to traverse the place by pulling each other across with ropes."

When I made an investigation in the northern part of Pakistan, I found that the geographical environment of Gilgit appears absolutely different from that of "Wu-cha Country" described here.

4 白鳥庫吉 1981. New achievement on the Research of the Western Regions' History (西域史上の新研究), in: Studies of the Western Regions' History (西域史研究): 140–149. QIN 1981: 97–106 has made a detailed discussion on the subject. Cf. PETECH 1950: 18, 69; HULSEWÉ 1979: 98–99.

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Gilgit is a natural basin surrounded with rocky mountains on which neither wood nor grass grow and where people cannot live. All the inhabitants dwell in the lowland of the valley; they do not "live in the mountains". The farms are also distributed in the basin, not "among the rocks". The Gilgit River and the Hunza River meet in the basin and the banks are low. So it would be unnecessary for the people to "drink by joining hands together". But the geographical environment of the valley in the middle reaches of the Hunza River – the central region of the Hunza Kingdom – is quite similar to that described in Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan, about Wu-cha Country. The place faces the easternmost ranges of the Hindukush to the north and on its west lies the westernmost part of the Karakorum. The valley is narrow and the river banks are high and steep. There is forest and grassland on the mountains. The inhabitants dwell high up on the hillside or on the top of the cliffs by the river. This concurs with "living in the mountains". All the lands extend high up into the mountains. This tallies with "cultivate the land that lies among the rocks". Because the river-sides are high and precipitous, it is understandable that the ancient people might drink by joining their hands together.

From the point of view of pronunciation, the word "Hunza" has quite conceivably developed from the word "Wu-cha". Under the heading of "Wu-cha Country" in Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan (漢書·西域傳), Yan Shi-gu (顏師古) made a note: "Zheng (鄭) said, 'Wu-cha is pronounced as An-na (鶂拏)'. But Shi-gu says '烏' is pronounced as *ya*, '扎' is pronounced as *zha*. If the syllables 'Wu-cha' are uttered quickly, they sound like 'An-na (鶂拏)'. But this is not the correct pronunciation." Yan's explanation is probably right. But the pronunciation of "扎, *zha*" is quite different from that of "拏, *na*". There is no reason to pronounce them the same way. Perhaps the word "na" is a mistranscription. According to Yan's phonetic notation, the ancient pronunciation of "烏, *wu*" is the same as that of *ya*, 鴉, or *a*. So *Wu-cha* should be pronounced as *Yazha* (or *Azha*). The words "ya" or "a" and "an (鶂)" are interchangeable, so *Yazha* (or *Azha*) can also be pronounced as *Anzha*. It is easy to develop *Anzha* into *Hunza*. If so, we can still witness the ancient pronunciation of "Wu-cha" in today's place-name "Hunza".

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Prof. QIN Zhong-mian (1981: 98) held that Zheng's (鄭) phonetic notation of "An-na" should be combined with "Wu-cha" and thus pronounced as "Wucha-Anna" (烏 衩 鶚 孥), which is the transliteration of Uḍḍiyāṇa. His arguments were set forth ingeniously. But it can hardly be correct because there is no corroborating evidence from any other edition.

In summary, we can conclude that this small mountain state Wu-cha must be in the valley that lies in the middle reaches of the Hunza River, where North Wei's Envoy Gu Wei-long passed and made his inscription. This is in accordance with the country's location, its distance to the other countries, its natural geographical environment, and also the living conditions of the inhabitants as described in Han Shu, Xiyu Zhuan. An additional piece of evidence is the plausible phonetic development of the word "Wu-cha" into present-day Hunza.

Of course, at the time when Gu Wei-long was sent on a diplomatic mission to Mi-mi, the political situation of Central Asia was quite different from that during the Han Period. Pi-shan Country was annexed by Yu-tian (Khotan) Country early in the middle of the second century A.D. Though Gu Wei-long still took the old route of Pi-shan, we should say that he started from Yu-tian towards the south-west. In the Wei Period, the travellers to Central and Southern Asia usually went by way of Yu-tian. When passing through the East Han-mi (東 捍 麼) City of Yu-tian, Song Yun (宋 雲) saw that in the Great Temple in the south of the city "there are some hundred thousand pieces of variegated silks and streamers hanging in the hall, of which those presented by Wei constitute over half" (YANG Xuan-zhi 1963: 187). We can thus see how great were the numbers of people who came to Yu-tian from the territories of the Wei Dynasty. Wu-cha Country probably also disappeared during the North Wei Dynasty. The history of the place at that time remains unclear. It cannot be ascertained whether it was within the sphere of Hephthalite influence or subjugated by other conquerors. But many other inscriptions of the "Sacred Rock of Hunza" may well provide further invaluable evidence for solving such problems.

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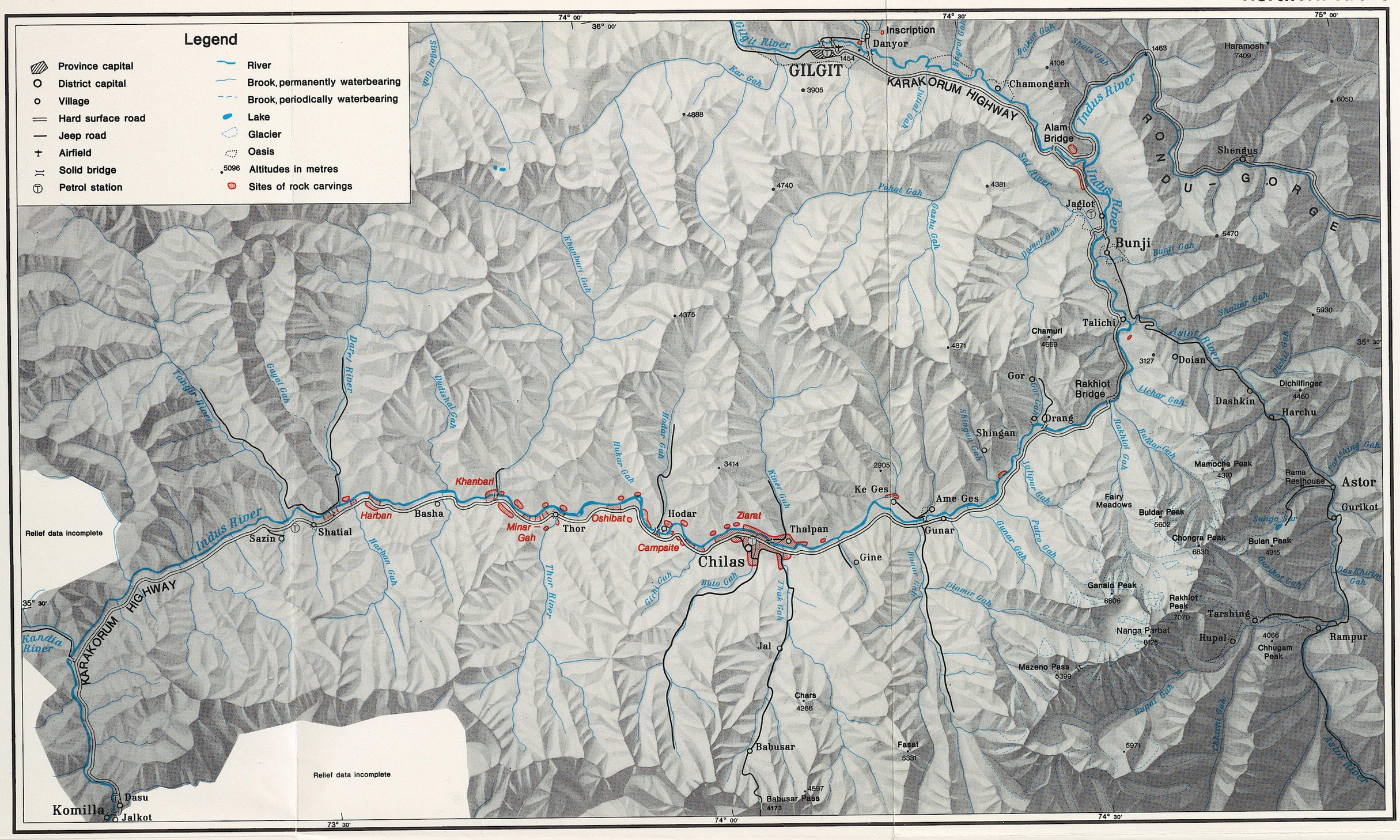
Rock Carvings and Inscriptions along the Karakorum Highway

Pakistan
Northern Areas



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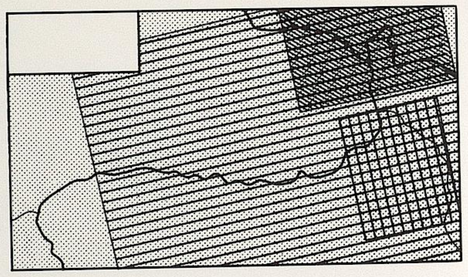

Scenes from Nasa Landsat 2, 02 Aug 79
E-30515-05001-C E-30515-05001-D
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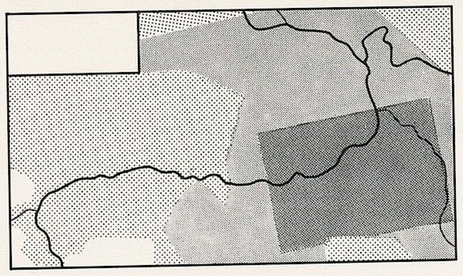
Informations based on observations of the PAK-GERMAN Study Group

5 0 5 10 15 20 km
5 0 5 10 15 miles

N

Reliability Diagram



Good
Fair
Poor
Clouds

Fachhochschule München
Wintersemester 1987/88
Diplomarbeit made by Birgit Schwager

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„Verehrung dem Lokeśvara. Zusammen mit Siṅhoṭa, der Schwester Pravāsusabhā, der Gattin Caṃpadārikā" (v. HINÜBER 1983: 49 Anm. 10).

Hier lernen wir also die Schwester des Siṅhoṭa kennen, deren Name wie oft in diesen Formeln eine maskuline Endung trägt[18], und seine Gattin, „das Mädchen aus Caṃpā", womit das heutige Cambā gemeint sein kann[19].

Dieselbe Namensform für Avalokiteśvara erscheint nochmals in:

80a. *namo (l)okeśvara* (669-84: Thalpan)

Rechts außen steht eine Figur mit einer anders ausgeführten Aureole. Mit Hilfe des *amṛtaghaṭa* in der linken Hand der Figur ist sie unschwer als Maitreya zu deuten.

Noch zur selben Gruppe gehörig, jedoch weiter unterhalb und unmittelbar nördlich der Straße gelegen, befindet sich die weitere Darstellung eines Bodhisatva mit folgenden Inschriften:

81. a: *namo āryā* *Pl. 159*

b: *mamjuśrī bodhi*

c: s ... o. 117: Chilās I)

82. *dev* ... *ṭena* (316-83; DANI *Pl. 159*

198

Schließ ... n Meter westlich auf

derselb ... nisatva ohne Inschrift

... AR–THEWALT 1985,

... Unrecht als Mañjuśrī.

... obenen rechten Hand

... in *bhūsparśa*-Haltung

herab.

Die St ... en großen, in sich ein-

heitlich ... nhoṭa, von dem STEIN

in sein ... Der Straßenbau hat zur

Zerstö ... ruppe von Bildern und

Inschri ... al der inzwischen ver-

scholle ... endete, 1983 noch am

18 Vg ... *enasya bhikṣoḥ, āyuṣmāṃ*

rak ... pelter Endung.

... hen Handschriften und die

... schreiben: v. HINÜBER

... pā, Rājataraṅgiṇī VII 218.

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